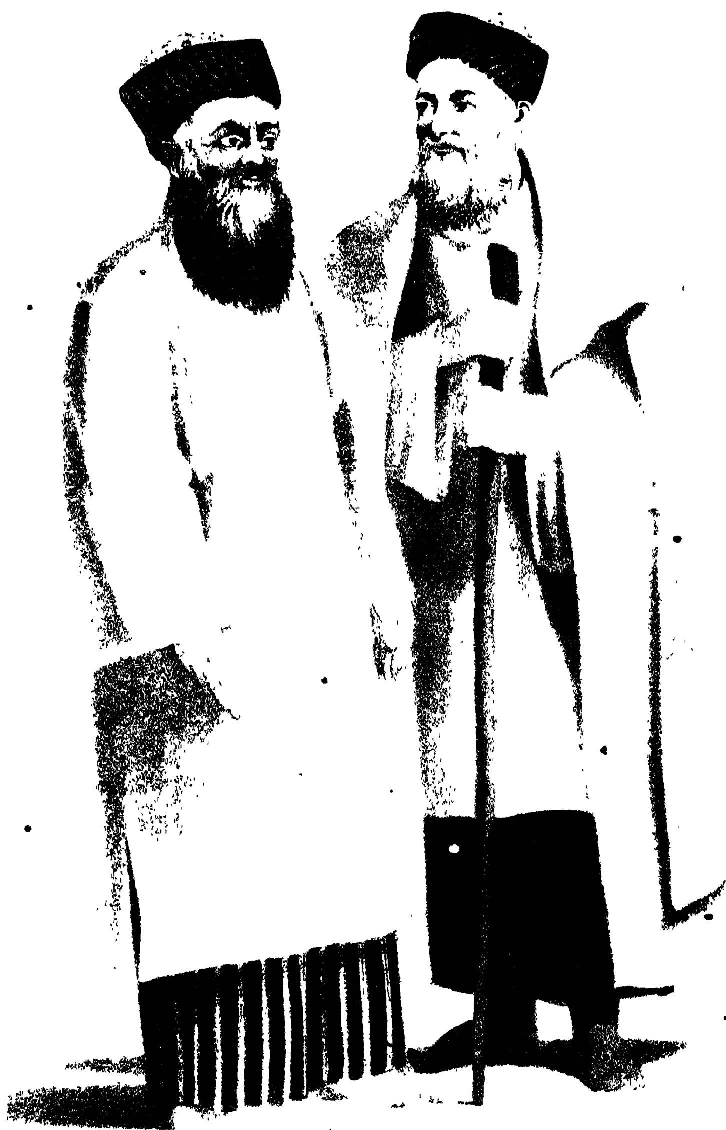


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AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

KINGDOM OF CAUBUL,

AND ITS DEPENDENCIES,

IN PERSIA, TARTARY, AND INDIA;

COMPRISING

A VIEW OF THE AFGHAUN NATION,

AND

A HISTORY OF THE DOORAUNEE MONARCHY.

BY THE

HON. MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE.

NEW AND REVISED EDITION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,

Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.

1842.

PREFACE.

As I have seen but a part of the countries which I am about to describe, it is necessary that I should give an account of the sources from which I have drawn my information; and I take the opportunity, thus afforded, of acknowledging my obligations to the gentlemen from whom I have received assistance.

I was engaged for a year on my journey to the King of Caubul's court, and another year elapsed before the mission was finally dissolved. The whole of that period was employed in such inquiries regarding the kingdom of Caubul as were likely to be useful to the British Government. The first part of the time was spent, by all the members of the mission, in the acquisition of general information; but during the remainder a precise plan was arranged among the party, and a particular branch of the investigation assigned to every gentleman who took a share in it.

The geography was allotted to Lieutenant Macartney (Mr. Tickell, the other surveyor, having been sent back to India on duty); and he was assisted by Captain Raper, already known to the public by his account of a Journey to the Sources of the Ganges. The climate, soil, produce, and husbandry were undertaken by Lieutenant Irvine, and the trade and

revenue by Mr. Richard Strachey. The history fell to Mr. Robert Alexander, and the government and the manners of the people to me.

We had abundant opportunities of inquiry while in the Afghaun dominions; and after our return we continued to examine the numerous natives of those countries that accompanied us, and those whom we could meet with at Dehli and in its neighbourhood. We also went to the fair at Hurdwar (the great rendezvous for natives of the countries north-west of India), and into the Afghaun colony of Rohilcund. By these means we completed our reports, which were transmitted to Government in the end of 1810; at which time I set out for the Deccan, and considered my share in the transactions of the Caubul mission as at an end. Mr. Irvine had then thoughts of writing an account of the Afghauns, for which, from the diligence and extent of his researches, he was well prepared; but as it had from the first been less his object to describe a particular people, than to enlarge his acquaintance with the history of human society, his investigations soon led him to some general views, which he thenceforth determined to pursue. For this purpose he has been occupied, during the last three years in laborious inquiries into the condition of different Oriental nations, and his account of Caubul has in consequence been abandoned.

I was first determined to undertake the task by the suggestion of Sir James Mackintosh, whose zeal for the promotion of knowledge has been felt even in these remote countries. He strongly recommended that the geographical information collected by the gentlemen of the mission should in some shape be

communicated to the public; and his kindness in offering, on his departure for England, to superintend the printing of what I might prepare for publication, removed the greatest obstacle to my entering on the design. About the same time, accidental circumstances brought a number of Afghauns from the parts of the country with which I was least acquainted to Bombay and Poona: I accordingly renewed my investigations with their assistance, and I now lay the result before the public.

What I have already said has in some measure explained my obligations. By the kindness of the other gentlemen of the mission, I was allowed the use of their reports, of which I have often availed myself, both to direct my inquiries, and to supply the deficiencies of my information.

I am indebted to Mr. Strachey for many materials relating to the royal revenue, the tenures of land, the price of commodities, and the trade of the kingdom. Mr. Strachey had, besides, the goodness to allow me the use of his journal to correct my own, in drawing up the narrative of our proceedings. The history of the three last reigns is taken from Mr. Alexander; but it by no means gives a just idea of the interesting details which his work contains.

I find some difficulty in explaining my obligations to Mr. Irvine. I have drawn from him most of the facts relating to the rainy seasons of Afghaunistaun, much of the slender account I have given of the animals, minerals, and vegetables; a large portion of my information on the husbandry and produce, and some facts in the geography and statistics; but I have left the greater part of his valuable report

untouched; and although I have always had the respect for his opinions which is due to the care and accuracy of his researches, yet I have, in many cases, had opportunities of investigating myself the subjects to which they relate, and of asserting, on my own authority, the facts he has recorded. On the other hand, the constant communication I had with Mr. Irvine, till the final dissolution of the mission, gave me opportunities of deriving much information from him on subjects unconnected with his own branch of the inquiry, and renders it impossible for me to discriminate the ideas I owe to him from those which occurred to myself.

From the late Lieutenant Macartney I have taken the direction of the mountains, the course of the streams, the relative position of the towns, and, in short, almost the whole of the information contained in the map. I have also obtained from that officer's memoir many particulars which I have used in my descriptive and statistical accounts of the country. The zeal and abilities of the late Mr. Macartney are well known to the government which he served; and his frank and disinterested liberality in communicating his information, will long be remembered by all who were interested in the geography of those countries to which he had at different times directed his attention. I could not refrain from this tribute to the merits of this much regretted officer; but it would ill accord with the modesty and aversion to display for which he was himself distinguished, to indulge in any further panegyric.*

* The western part of Mr. Macartney's map is already, in some measure, before the public, the first draft of it having been introduced,

I take this method of returning my best thanks to Mr. W. Erskine at Bombay for his readiness in replying to my references on many points connected with the geography and history of Asia. The public will, I trust, ere long be enabled to judge of the value of the time which he sacrificed from so kind a motive.

It will be sufficiently obvious that I have not had any professedly literary assistance in the composition or correction of my book; but I have not neglected to avail myself of the advice of my friends, by which many imperfections have been removed.

Mere faults of style would be of little consequence, if the substance of my account were free from error. From the nature of my undertaking, many mistakes will doubtless be discovered, when our acquaintance with the countries I treat of is increased; but in the present state of our knowledge, no attempt to elucidate them can be reckoned presumptuous, and whatever errors I may be found to have committed, will not, I trust, be ascribed to want of industry, or to indifference about truth.

Among those to whom I am most indebted for advice, I may take the liberty of naming Mr. Jenkins, resident at the Court of Nagpore, and Captain Close, assistant to the residency at Poonah. To the latter gentleman, indeed, I am bound to acknowledge my obligations, as well for the aid he afforded in collect-

with some variation, into the map prefixed to Mr. Macdonald Kinneir's Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire. The eastern part also is probably published before this, as, when I last heard from England, it was about to appear in a map of India which Mr. Arrowsmith was preparing for publication.

ing and arranging some parts of my materials, as for the benefit I derived from his judgment in the general execution of my work. I believe I have now noticed all the favours I have received, which are not adverted to in the places to which they refer. I am indeed afraid that I have said more on this subject than the importance of the whole production will be thought to justify.

I have a few words to say on the spelling of the proper names. It is always difficult to represent Asiatic words in our characters, and this is increased in the present instance by the want of a uniform system. Lieutenant Macartney had adopted Dr. Gilchrist's orthography, which is perhaps the best extant for the accurate expression of Asiatic sounds, and which is also by far the most generally current in India; but as it is little known in Europe, I have given a table of the powers it assigns to the letters; which will enable the reader to pronounce all the words where it is made use of.* I myself used no particular alphabet, but endeavoured to express all

* Dr. Gilchrist has given the following table for the vowels, each of which is *invariably* to be pronounced as it is in the English words written over it:

Ball	Sun	There	Beer	Bill	Poll	Poor	Our	Dry.
A	U	E	Ee	I	O	Oo	Ou	Y.

The consonants are, I believe, pronounced as in English, except C and G, which are always hard.

The signs Gh and Kh are added, and represent, the first, the sound of the Persian Ghine, which is nearly the same as a Northumberland man would give to R; and the second represents the Persian Khe, and has a resemblance to the Scottish and Irish ch in loch (a lake). It is to be observed, that when a consonant is repeated it is to be pronounced double. Thus dd is not to be pronounced singly as in paddock, but doubly as in mad-dog.

words in our letters without altering the sounds which they usually have in English. This plan however has led to some inconvenience, for as I was guided entirely by my ear, and as the same sounds can be expressed by different letters, there was nothing to fix the scheme I had adopted in my memory; and in consequence, when a word recurred after a long interval, I frequently changed the spelling without designing it. This evil was increased by the many interruptions I was exposed to, which at different times obliged me to suspend my proceedings for many months together; and my attempts to reconcile the inconsistencies thus produced, have rather increased than removed the confusion. The most material words, however, are pretty uniformly spelt, and I hope no great embarrassment will arise from the irregularity of the others.

POONA, June 4, 1814.

The former edition being printed while I was in India, contained many typographical and other errors. Corrections of them were sent to England in 1816, but those relating to the drawing and division of the map seem alone to have reached their destination. These corrections are now introduced, and are the only alterations made in the original work.

Since this account was written different parts of the Afghaun country have been visited, in the course of much more extensive journeys, by Mr. Conolly and Sir A. Burnes; and their descriptions, besides greater fulness and accuracy, possess the spirit peculiar to

pictures from the life; but, except in some geographical points, which will be noticed, they confirm the information here given as far as it goes, and afford us the satisfaction of finding that greater knowledge has led to still more favourable views, both of the country and the people.* Such additions and corrections as have been derived from those or other sources are inserted in short notes, bearing the date of the present edition. Several other English and foreign travellers have explored Afghaunistaun, from some of whom we may expect publications, which will place our knowledge of that country on a firmer basis.

London, Oct. 1838.

* Mohun Lall, a Hindoo gentleman of Dehli, who accompanied Sir A. Burnes to Bokhaura, and came back by Meshhed and Heraut, has also published his travels. They appeared in English at Calcutta, and would have been invaluable if they had not been preceded by the works already mentioned. Even now they contain much new matter, and from the spirit of inquiry and observation, as well as the command of a foreign language which they display, reflect high credit on the author and on the English Institution (now the college) at Dehli, where he received his education.—1838.

NOTICE REGARDING THE MAP.

I INTENDED in this place to have given an account of the mode adopted by Mr. Macartney in the construction of his map, and to have shown in detail what part of my geographical information was borrowed from him, and on what points his opinion and mine disagreed; but, on consideration, I think it better to give the most important part to Mr. Macartney's memoir in an Appendix, and to it I beg leave to refer my reader. he will there find, besides the matter to which I principally allude, good accounts of the Oxus, the rivers of the Punjaub, and other interesting subjects. I have still, however, some observations to offer. Mr. Macartney's design in forming his map was to embody all the information he had himself collected, and to leave the task of comparing it with the opinions of other geographers to those who had more leisure and better opportunities of consulting printed authorities. It is not therefore to be understood, when he differs from his predecessors, that he had examined and reversed their decisions, but merely that the accounts he had received differed from those already in the possession of the public.

Of the value of his accounts, it may be well to say a few words. The foundation of the whole rests on the lines formed by the route of the mission, where

the bearings and distances were taken by three different gentlemen, each of whom had a perambulator of his own. The latitude of the halting places was also ascertained by observation as was the longitude of the principal points on the route. Mr. Macartney has himself explained (Appendix D.) the manner in which he laid down the country beyond those lines, by means of native information. It is obvious that this part cannot be so accurate as the former, and can scarcely hope to go beyond an approximation to the truth ; but it ought to be much more exact, as well as more full, than any thing we already possess on the subject. The surveyed line is advanced many hundred miles beyond what it was when the last map was made, and the number of routes collected from the people of the country give a great advantage over the slender materials before obtained : nothing indeed gives a higher idea of the genius of Major Rennell than a comparison of the materials he possessed with his success in settling the geography of the countries in question. A good deal might be said to prove that the new information is not to be disregarded because it is procured fron the natives ; and it might be urged, that the Afghauns are remarkable for observation and veracity, and that it is common among them for a man to repeat a route after a long interval, without varying either in the distance or direction of a single stage ; but this question is of the less consequence, as nothing is known of the geography of the countries in question that is not derived from the natives. Mr. Foster, it is true, has published his route through the Caubul dominions, but he gives the number of *farsangs* in each stage according to the

information he received, and not the number of *miles*, as he would have done had his distances been the result of his own observations. I consider this preference of Mr. Foster's as a proof of his judgment, for he had no instruments; and however superior he was to the natives in all the other requisites of a traveller, he could not be so good a judge of the length of a stage as a person who had often travelled it, and was besides accustomed to estimate the rate at which camels move.

The principal alterations I have myself made in the map lie to the south of Ghuznee, and to the north of Hindoo Coosh. Mr. Macartney possessed fewer routes in the south of Afghaunistaun than in any other part of the kingdom, and the information I obtained in the Deccan referred principally to that quarter; I therefore constructed the southern part of the map anew, and am answerable for as much of the tract between the parallels of Ghuznee and Shikarpoor as lies west of the range of Solimaun, and south of the river Turnuk. In framing this, I derived great advantage from using Kelauti Nusseer Khaun (the position of which has been ascertained by Messrs. Christie and Pottinger) for one of my fixed points, as well as from the means I possessed of settling the position of Dauder with tolerable precision. It still stands nearly where Lieutenant Macartney put it; but his judgment has been confirmed by many routes of mine, and by a map drawn up by Mr. Pottinger, in which it is placed within a few miles of its position in Mr. Macartney's map. All to the south of the parallel of Shikarpoor will be found in the printed maps: I have nothing to add to the public informa-

tion. In the south-west I have availed myself of Mr. Christie's route, (published by Mr. Macdonald Kinnier) for fixing the position of Jellallabad in Seestaun. I have made but a slight deviation from the printed route, and that for reasons which appeared to justify the change; but I have retained Furrah and Heraut in the situations assigned to them by Mr. Macartney. No other position of Heraut would agree with Mr. Macartney's routes, or my own information. I have not indeed been able to ascertain the authority on which it has been placed in the position now generally adopted. Major Rennell proceeded on the information of Mr. Foster; but that traveller observes that the road from Gimmüch (Dimmuk) to Heraut has nearly a northern course (vol. ii. page 115), and if such a direction were given from the point fixed for Gimmuch in Major Rennell's Map, it would bring Heraut nearer to the position assigned to it by Mr. Macartney than any other that has yet been thought of.

Mr. Macartney had placed Bokhaura in latitude 37° 45′ north, and longitude 63° 10′ east, which was so contrary to received opinions, that I was induced to examine it particularly; and I soon found it equally inconsistent with my own information. I have no doubt Mr. Macartney was under a mistake; and that he was led into it, partly by a very erroneous route, (the only one he possessed between Heraut and Bokhaura), and partly by his overlooking the proverbial length of the marches in Toorkistaun. My information confirms his positions on the roads to Bokhaura, south of Hindoo Coosh; but from that mountain I find many of them too short. I am not satisfied with

my own position of Bokhara, which is in 39° 27′ north latitude, and 62° 45′ east longitude. Anthony Jenkinson, who took an observation in 1558, declares the latitude to be 39° 10′; while Mr. Thomson, who visited Bokhara in 1740, asserts it to be in latitude 39° 30′, though without saying whether he had observed it or not. Major Rennell places it some minutes to the south of 39° 30′; but the greatest variation is in the longitude, which Major Rennell fixes upwards of forty minutes further west than I have done. I should have been inclined to adopt his account from respect for his authority, but it could not be reconciled to my information.*

On the whole, I cannot hope for much accuracy in my share of the map, having never before attempted any thing of the kind; but I hope it may be useful till something better is brought forward, aud that, even after the principal points are fixed with more accuracy, the intermediate routes will be found of some service.

* The route from Bokhara to Chushmeh Moree, and that from Bulkh to the same place, were taken down from the information of a very intelligent native of the last-named city: they were then protracted without the least alteration in the distances or directions, and agreed within a mile or two in the position of Chushmeh Moree. I was obliged to alter the direction of my only route from Chushmeh Moree to Heraut. The former direction would have placed Heraut twenty miles west of its present situation, which could not have been reconciled to the route to the same city from Merochauk. The third route from Kubbermauch was taken from Mr. Macartney's map, without any alteration in the distances. It was inserted into mine after all the adjoining positions had been fixed, and fitted its place with the utmost exactness. It is worth while to observe that the place where Mour or Merve falls in these routes, is nearly the same as that assigned to it by Mr. Macdonald Kinnier on grounds entirely distinct.

PREFACE

TO THE THIRD EDITION.

The former editions of the map having been published when I was in India, some mistakes occurred which require explanation.

The first edition was published in 1815, and in it, owing to some indistinctness in the MS. map sent to England, considerable mistakes were made in laying down the hills. The city of Bulkh, for example, (which in the text is stated to stand in a plain), was placed upon a mountain.

It had been found necessary to insert the names of districts and some boundaries which were not in the MS., and in doing this also, some trifling mistakes occurred.

To remedy these defects, some corrections were sent from India. They related almost entirely to the points just mentioned (the hills, and the names and boundaries): the position of no town was altered, nor indeed was any alteration made besides those just specified, and a very few relating to rivers. The principal of these last was to put the left branch of the Indus in dots as uncertain, and to designate the

other branch as "The River of Ladauk, probably the main stream of the Indus."* The other alterations related to the sources of the Little Sind and the Shauyook, to the lakes in Cashmeer, and to a lake which had been erroneously inserted to the south of Candahar.

Most of the suggested corrections, except those of mistakes in the names, were inserted in the second edition of the map, which was published in 1818; but, in addition to those suggested, some changes were made in the position of towns, by which the construction of the map was affected. These alterations, though they extended to other places, chiefly affected the tract to the west of longitude 66° east. They may very probably have been made on good grounds, and may be confirmed by further inquiries; but as they are at variance with the text of the book, I have removed them from the present edition, and restored the positions of the map of 1815, retaining only the alterations regarding mountains, rivers, &c. which I had myself authorized.

The points in the map which later travellers have shown to be erroneous, will be noticed as each comes to be mentioned in the text. The principal are the following:—The portion of the Indus south of Ooch

* A corresponding alteration in the note on page 147, vol. i. of the text, was sent to England along with the list of errata, but neither of them appear to have reached the publisher. The question has since been set at rest by Sir A. Burnes, vol. ii. page 220; and as he was so good as to show me the passage before publication, and to adopt some suggestions which I offered for the purpose of making it more explicit, I ought to have apprised him of the alteration which had appeared in the second edition of my map; but from the lapse of time, the circumstance had escaped my memory.

was found by Sir A. Burnes to be incorrect; but the only position in that tract that affects the general construction is Shikarpoor, which, having been fixed at least 35′ too far to the south-east, has made all the stages between that city and Quetta much longer than Mr. Conolly found them.* The Quetta of the map agrees with that of Mr. Conolly, but there is something wrong in the nearest mountains. Pisheen also is too extensive, and the pass of Cozhuk too distant from Candahar.

The Turnuk should be crossed thirteen miles to the east of south from Candahar, the Arghesaun eight miles further south, and the Doree eleven further.

Mr. Conolly's sketch of his route, places Candahar considerably to the south of its present position; but as he did not visit that city, nor take any observation near it, it is not probable that he considered its position to be decided.

Sir A. Burnes found all the places between Peshawer and Caubul laid down too far south. Caubul itself ought to have been upwards of 14′ further north than it is in the map.

These are the principal corrections south of Hindoo Coosh; but to the north of that mountain they are, as might be expected, much more considerable.

The greatest only relates to an insulated point: Mr. Macartney had placed Ladauk three degrees further north than it stood in the map of Major Rennell;

* In mentioning the mistakes on the Indus, Sir A. Burnes pays the following tribute to Mr. Macartney: "But no one can examine that document without acknowledging the unwearied zeal of its constructor, and wondering that he erred so little, when he visited few of the places, and had his information from such sources."

and the information gained by Mr. Moorcroft, has since restored it nearly to the position fixed by that great geographer; but Mr. Macartney had only one route in that country, and was obliged by his rule to lay down his own information without attempting to accommodate it to received opinions.

A mistake which has a more extensive operation, occurs in the part which I had endeavoured to correct; that extending from Budukhshaun to Bokhaura. The whole of that tract is placed a degree too far to the west.

The greatest difference is in Bokhaura itself; which, although I had placed it 50′ further east than Major Rennell, is still 1° 35′ too far west. Sir A. Burnes places it in east longitude 64° 25′; and as this position is only 30′ west of the position assigned to it by the Russian mission, it cannot be far from the truth.

In the range of Hindoo Cocsh itself, Cohi Baba ought to lie to the left of the road to Bamiaun, and the main chain should run from it to the peak of Hindoo Coosh. Bamiaun is situated on the northern face of the mountain, and the highest of the three passes to the north of that city, is only nine thousand feet above the sea, while that over the ridge is thirteen thousand.

LONDON,
December, 1838.

CONTENTS

OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

INTRODUCTION.

BOOK I.

GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

CHAPTER I.

SITUATION AND BOUNDARIES OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

CHAPTER II.

MOUNTAINS OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

CHAPTER III.

RIVERS OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

CHAPTER IV.

NATURAL AND POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE CLIMATE OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.—RAIN.

CHAPTER VI.

ANIMALS, VEGETABLES, AND MINERALS OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

BOOK II.

GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE INHABITANTS OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION, ORIGIN, AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE AFGHAUNS.

CHAPTER II.

DIVISIONS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE AFGHAUN NATION.

CHAPTER III.

MARRIAGES, CONDITION OF WOMEN, FUNERALS, ETC.

CHAPTER IV.

EDUCATION, LANGUAGE, AND LITERATURE OF THE AFGHAUNS.

CHAPTER V.

RELIGION, SECTS, MOOLLAHS, SUPERSTITIONS, ETC.

CHAPTER VI.

HOSPITALITY, PREDATORY HABITS, ETC.

CHAPTER VII.

MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND CHARACTER OF THE AFGHAUNS.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE INHABITANTS OF TOWNS.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE GREAT.

CHAPTER X.

TRADE OF CAUBUL.

CHAPTER XI.

HUSBANDRY OF CAUBUL.

CHAPTER XII.

TAUJIKS, HINDKEES, AND OTHER INHABITANTS OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

LIST OF PLATES.

ACCOUNT

OF THE

KINGDOM OF CAUBUL.

INTRODUCTION.

NARRATIVE OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MISSION.

In the year 1808, when, from the embassy of General Gardanne to Persia, and other circumstances, it appeared as if the French intended to carry the war into Asia, it was thought expedient by the British Government in India to send a mission to the King of Caubul, and I was ordered on that duty. As the court of Caubul was known to be haughty, and supposed to entertain a mean opinion of the European nations, it was determined that the mission should be in a style of great magnificence; and suitable preparations were made at Delly for its equipment. An excellent selection was made of officers to accompany it; and the following was the establishment of the embassy.

Secretary, Mr. Richard Strachey.

Assistants, Mr. Fraser and Mr. Rt. Alexander, of the Honorable East India Company's Civil Service.

Surgeon, Mr. Macwhirter. Bengal Establishment.

Commanding the Escort.

Captain Pitman, 2d Battalion, 6th Regiment, Bengal Native Infantry.

Surveyors.

Lieutenant Macartney, 5th Regiment, Bengal Native Company, (commanding the cavalry of the escort,) and

Lieutenant Tickell, Bengal Engineers.

Officers attached to the Escort.

Captain Raper, 1st Battalion, 10th Regiment.

Lieutenant Harris, Artillery.

Lieutenant Cunningham, 2d Battalion, 27th Regiment.

Lieutenant Ross, 2d Battalion, 6th Regiment.

Lieutenant Irvine, 1st Battalion, 11th Regiment.

Lieutenant Fitzgerald, 6th Regiment Native Cavalry.

Lieutenant Jacob, 2d Battalion, 23d Regiment.

The escort was composed of a troop from the 5th Regiment of Native Cavalry and a detail from the 6th (making one hundred men), two hundred infantry, and one hundred irregular cavalry.

All things being prepared, the embassy left Delly on the 13th of October 1808. From that city to Canound, a distance of about one hundred miles, is through the British dominions, and need not be described. It is sufficient to say, that the country is sandy, though not ill cultivated.

On approaching Canound we had the first specimen of the desart, to which we were looking forward with anxious curiosity. Three miles before reaching that place, we came to sand-hills, which at first were co-

vered with bushes, but afterwards were naked piles of loose sand, rising one after another, like the waves of the sea, and marked on the surface by the wind like drifted snow. There were roads through them, made solid by the treading of animals; but off the road our horses sunk into the sand above the knee.

We set off from Canound on the 21st of October, and in the course of the march we quitted the dependencies of our own Government, and entered the district of Shekhawuttee (so called from a predatory tribe of Raujpoots who inhabit it), the country becoming more and more desart as we advanced. On the 22d we reached Singauna, a handsome town, built of stone, on the skirts of a hill of purplish rock, about six hundred feet high. I was here met by Raja Ubhee Sing, the principal chief of the Shekhawut tribe. He was a little man with large eyes, inflamed by the use of opium. He wore his beard turned up on each side towards his ears, which gave him a wild and fierce appearance. His dress was plain; and his speech, and manners, like those of all his countrymen, rude and unpolished. He was, however, very civil, and made many professions of respect and attachment to the British. I saw him several times, and he was always drunk either with opium or brandy. This was indeed the case with all the Shekhawuttee Sirdars, who are seldom in a condition to appear till the effect of their last debauch is removed by a new dose; consequently it is only in the interval between sobriety and absolute stupefaction that they are fit for business. Two marches from Singauna brought us to Jhoonjhoona, a handsome town, with some trees and gardens, which look

well in such a desart. Each of the chiefs, who are five in number, has a castle here; and here they assemble when the public affairs require a council. At this place I saw the remaining four Shekhawut chiefs; they were plain men. One of them, Shaum Sing, was remarkably mild and well behaved; but some of the others bore strong marks of the effects of opium in their eyes and countenance. They were all cousins, and seemed to live in great harmony; but scarcely had I crossed the desart, when I heard that Shaum Sing had murdered the three others at a feast, stabbing the first of them with his own hand.*

After another march and a half over sand, from Jhoonjhoona towards Chooroo, we quitted the Shekhawuttee. This country extends about eighty miles from north to south, and less from east to west. It has the extensive dominions of the Raja of Jypoor on the south, on the east the dependencies of the British Government, and on the west the territories of Bikaneer; on the north-west it has the barren country of the Battees, a plundering tribe, remarkable for carrying on their depredations on foot, and still more so for the length and rapidity of the incursions thus made: on the north is Hurreeana, the scene of the exploits of George Thomas, which, though on the borders of the desart, is celebrated for the verdure† from which it derives its name, for the herds of cattle that are pastured on it, for the lions that it produces,

* [This report must have been exaggerated, as it appears from Colonel Tod's Rajpootana, that Ubhee Sing was in 1814 alive.—1838.]

† Hurya is the Hindostanee for green. This verdure probably only lasts during the rainy season.

and for the valour and independence of its inhabitants. It now belongs to the British. The Shekhawuttee itself is a sandy plain, scattered with rocky hills, ill watered, and badly cultivated; yet it contains several large towns, of which the chief are Seekur, Futtehpoor, Khetree, and Goodha: the sands are sprinkled with tufts of long grass and bushes of Baubool*, Kureel†, and Phoke,‡ which last is peculiar to the desart and its borders.

The Shekhawuttees owe tribute and military service to the Raja of Jypore. It was by the assistance of that government that they were enabled, at no very remote period, to wrest their present territory from the Kyaumkhaunees, a tribe of converted Hindoos.

A few miles beyond the Shekhawuttee border, we entered the territories of the Raja of Bikaneer. This Raja is perhaps the least important of the five princes of Raujpootauna. Those of Jypoor and Joudpoor, are at the head of considerable states; the reduced power of the Raja of Ondipoor, is kept from insignificance by his high rank and the respect which is paid him; but the territories of the Rajas of Jesselmeer and Bikaneer, are merely the most habitable parts

* Mimosa Arabica. † Capparis. The caper tree.

‡ It is a plant from four to five feet high, quite green, although it has no leaves. Its branches run into tender twigs, which terminate in bunches of the same material, but still softer and fuller of sap. It bears clusters of flowers, which are eaten by the natives, and has its seed in a pod. It is the favourite food of the camel, whom it in some measure indemnifies for the long privation of water which he is often obliged to suffer in the desart. It was first seen to the west of Canound, and continued throughout the whole of the sands.

of the desart, and, consequently, have little to boast in population or resources. The Raja of Bikaneer's revenue only amounts to 50,000*l*., but, as his troops are paid by assignments of land, he was able to keep up 2000 horse, 8000 foot, and thirty-five pieces of field artillery, even after the defeat he had suffered previous to my arrival at his capital. The style of his court also was very far from indicating the poverty of his government. His frontier place towards the Shekhawuttee, and consequently the first part of his territories which we approached, was Chooroo, which may be reckoned the second town in his dominions. It is near a mile and a half round, without counting its large but mean suburbs; and, though situated among naked sand-hills, it has a very handsome appearance. The houses are all terraced, and both they and the walls of the town are built of a kind of lime-stone, of so pure a white, that it gives an air of great neatness to every thing composed of it. It is however soft, and crumbles into a white powder, mixed here and there with shells. It is found in large beds in many parts of the desart. The chief of Chooroo is a dependant rather than a subject of the Raja of Bikaneer.

The Shekhawuttee country seems to lose its title to be included in the desart, when compared with the two hundred and eighty miles between its western frontier and Bahawulpoor, and, even of this, only the last hundred miles are absolutely destitute of inhabitants, water, or vegetation. Our journey from the Shekhawut frontier to Pooggul, a distance of one hundred and eighty miles, was over hills and valleys of loose and heavy sand. The hills were exactly like those which are sometimes formed by the wind on the

sea shore, but far exceeding them in their height, which was from twenty to one hundred feet. They are said to shift their positions, and to alter their shapes, according as they are affected by the wind; and in summer, the passage of many parts of the desart is said to be rendered dangerous by the clouds of moving sand; but when I saw the hills (in winter), they seemed to have a great degree of permanence, for they bore a sort of grass, besides Phoke, and the thorny bushes of the Baubool, and the Bair, or Jujube, which altogether gave them an appearance that sometimes amounted to verdure. Among the most dismal hills of sand, one occasionally meets with a village, if such a name can be given to a few round huts of straw, with low walls and conical roofs, like little stacks of corn. These are surrounded by hedges of thorny branches stuck in the sand, which, as well as the houses, are so dry, that if they happened to catch fire, the village would be reduced to ashes in five minutes. These miserable abodes are surrounded by a few fields, which depend for water on the rains and dews, and which bear thin crops of the poorest kind of pulse, and of Bâjra, or Holcus Spicatus, and this last, though it flourishes in the most sterile countries, grows here with difficulty, each stalk several feet from its neighbour. The wells are often three hundred feet deep, and one was three hundred and forty-five feet. With this enormous depth, some were only three feet in diameter; the water is always brackish, unwholesome, and so scanty, that two bullocks working for a night, easily emptied a well. The water was poured into reservoirs lined with clay, which our party drank dry in an instant after its

arrival. These wells are all lined with masonry. The natives have a way of covering them with boards, heaped with sand, that effectually conceals them from an enemy. In the midst of so arid a country, the water-melon, the most juicy of fruits, is found in profusion. It is really a subject of wonder to see melons three or four feet in circumference, growing from a stalk as slender as that of the common melon, in the dry sand of the desart. They are sown, and perhaps require some cultivation, but they are scattered about to all appearance as if they grew wild.

The common inhabitants are Jauts. The upper classes are Rathore Raujpoots. The former are little, black, and ill-looking, and bear strong appearances of poverty and wretchedness. The latter are stout and handsome, with hooked noses, and Jewish features. They are haughty in their manners, very indolent, and almost continually drunk with opium.

The stock consists of bullocks and camels, which last are kept in numerous herds, and are used to carry loads, to ride on, and even to plough. Of the wild animals, the desart rat deserves to be mentioned for its numbers, thongh not for its size; the innumerable holes made by these animals where the ground is solid enough to admit of it, are indeed a serious inconvenience to a horseman, whom they distress even more than the heavy sand. It is more like a squirrel than a rat, has a tuft at the end of its tail, and is often seen sitting upright, with its fore-feet crossed like a kangaroo. It is not unlike the jerboa, but is much less, and uses all its feet. It is not peculiar to the desart, being found in most sandy places on the west of the Jumna. Antelopes are found

in some parts, as is the goorkhur, or wild ass, so well depicted in the book of Job.* This animal is sometimes found alone, but oftener in herds. It resembles a mule rather than an ass, but is of the colour of the latter. It is remarkable for its shyness, and still more for its speed: at a kind of shuffling trot peculiar to itself, it will leave the fleetest horses behind. The foxes may also be mentioned; they are less than our fox, but somewhat larger than the common one of India; their backs are of the same brownish colour with the latter, but in one part of the desart, their legs and belly, up to a certain height, are black, and in another white. The line between those colours and the brown is so distinctly marked, that the one kind seems as if it had been wading up to the belly in ink, and the other in white-wash.

The rest of the desart for about one hundred miles from Pooggul to Bahawulpoor, was a flat of hard clay, which sounded under our horses' feet like a board. In some places small hills were formed by sand apparently blown over the clay; on these were some bushes of Phoke, and some little plants of wild rue, and of a kind called Laana, which bears a strong resemblance to everlasting, and which is said to yield abundance of alkali when burned. The clay was destitute of all vegetation, and in this tract, excepting the fort and pool of Moujgur, and two wells about

* Who has sent out the wild ass free? or who has loosed the bonds of the wild ass? whose house I have made the wilderness, and the barren land his dwellings: he scorneth the multitude of the city, neither regardeth he the crying of the driver. The range of the mountains is his pasture, and he searches after every green thing. Job xxxix. 5, 6, 7, and 8.

sixteen miles from Bahawulpoor, there is neither water nor inhabitants to be found; yet as we travelled from the first on the road adopted by all caravans, it may be presumed that we saw the most habitable portion of the whole.

It is obvious, that a desart, such as I have described, could not be passed without preparation; camels had accordingly been hired at Canound to carry water and provisions, which completed the number of our camels to six hundred, besides twelve or thirteen elephants. Our water was carried in leathern bags, made of the skins of sheep, besides some much larger ones, made of the hides of oxen and twenty-four large copper vessels, two of which were a load for a camel. These were made for the Hindoo Sepoys, and proved the best contrivance, as the skins gave a great deal of trouble, and spilled much water after all. In providing water for the animals, we took no account of the camels, that creature bearing thirst for a period which is almost incredible.

The women who had accompanied the mission were sent back from Chooroo with a guard, and many of our servants were allowed to return by the same opportunity, but this did not secure us the services of the remainder; for such was their dread of the desart, that men of all descriptions deserted by twenties and thirties, till we were so far advanced as to render their return impossible. As there was a war in Bikaneer, and as the road was at all times exposed to the depredations of the Bhuttees and other plunderers, we engaged one hundred horse and fifty foot in the Sekhawuttee, to assist our regular escort in protecting our long line of baggage.

All these arrangements being completed, we marched from Chooroo, on the 30th of October. We marched in the night, as we had done since we entered the Shekhawuttee; we generally began to load by two or three in the afternoon, but it was long before we were able to proceed; and the head of our line never reached the encamping ground till twelve or one. On many occasions we were much later, and once or twice it was broad day before we arrived at our stage. The marches were seldom very long. The longest was twenty-six miles, and the shortest fifteen; but the fatigue which our people suffered bore no proportion to the distance. Our line, when in the closest order, was two miles long. The path by which we travelled wound much to avoid the sand-hills. It was too narrow to allow of two camels going abreast; and, if an animal stepped to one side, it sunk in the sand as in snow; so that the least obstruction towards the head of the line stopped the whole, nor could the head move on if the rear was detained, lest that division, being separated from the guides, might lose its way among the sand-hills. To prevent this, a signal was passed along the line by beat of drum, when any circumstance occasioned a stoppage in the rear; and a trumpet, sounded from time to time at the head of the line, kept all informed of the direction in which the column was proceeding. The heavy sand made marching so fatiguing that we were obliged to allow camels for half the infantry Sepoys, that they might ride by turns, two on a camel; we had besides cajawas (or large panniers on camels) for the sick. The annoyance of the march was greatly increased by the incredible number of a sort of small

burs, which stuck to every thing that touched them, and occasioned great uneasiness. They are however useful, inasmuch as they form a favourite food for horses, and the seed is eaten even by men. The want of water, and the quality of that which we met with, was also a great hardship to our men, and followers; and, though the abundance of water melons afforded occasional relief to their thirst, its effect on their health was by no means salutary. Such were the combined effects of fatigue, bad water, and the excessive use of water melons, that a great proportion of the natives who accompanied us became afflicted with a low fever, accompanied by a dysentery; and to such a degree did this extend, that thirty Sepoys, without reckoning followers, were taken ill in the course of one day at Nuttoosir, and forty persons of all descriptions expired during the first week of our halt at Bikaneer. The great difference between the temperature of the days and nights no doubt contributed to this mortality. Even the English gentlemen used to suffer from cold during the night marches, and were happy to kindle a large fire as soon as we reached our ground; yet the sun became powerful so early in the morning, that we always woke with a feverish heat which lasted till sunset. The Europeans, however, did not suffer any serious illness. Some instances of violent inflammation in the eyelids were the only disorder of which we had to complain.

Our march to Bikaneer was attended with few adventures. Parties of plunderers were twice seen, but did not attack our baggage. Some of the people also lost their way, and were missing for a day or two,

during which time they were in danger of being lost in the uninhabited parts of the desart, and were fired on by all the villages which they approached in hopes of getting guides or directions for their journey.

At last on the 5th of November, in the midst of a tract of more than ordinary desolation, we discovered the walls and towers of Bikaneer, which presented the appearance of a great and magnificent city in the midst of a wilderness. Even after we reached our ground there were disputes in camp whether it or Delly was most extensive ; but a little farther acquaintance removed this impression. The town was surrounded by a fine wall, strengthened with many round towers, and crowned with the usual Indian battlements. It contained some high houses, and some temples, one of which had a lofty spire, and at one corner was a very high and showy fort. It was distinguished by the whiteness of all the buildings, arising from the material already described at Chooroo, and by the absence of trees, which give most Indian towns the appearance of woods, rather than of inhabited places. The beauty of Bikaneer, however, was all external. On entering the gates most of it was found to be composed of huts, with mud walls painted red. It was exceedingly populous, perhaps from the number of people who had fled to the capital in consequence of the state of the country.

Bikaneer was at this time invaded by five different armies ; one of which belonging to the Raja of Joudpoor, and 15,000 strong, had arrived within a few miles of the city. Another smaller force was equally near, while the rest were endeavouring to reach the

same point by different routes.* A number of predatory horse had also been let loose to cut off the supplies of provisions from the surrounding countries, on which a city situated like Bikaneer, must obviously depend for existence. The Raja, on the other hand, filled up all the wells within ten miles of his capital, and trusted for deliverance to the desolation which surrounded him.

This state of affairs was not very favourable for supplying the wants of the mission, and we thought ourselves lucky in being enabled to renew our march within eleven days. During this time military operations were carried on between the parties. The smallest of the armed bodies near Bikaneer was obliged to fall back a march. A convoy from the eastward also forced its way into the town; and another going to the enemy, was cut off by the Raja's troops. Many men were killed on this occasion, and much plunder was taken by the victors. Their appearance, as they passed near our camp, was well described by one of the gentlemen of the mission. In one place was seen a party driving in oxen, in another some loaded carts, here a horseman pricking on a captured camel with his long spear, and there a gun dragged slowly through the sand by fifteen or twenty bullocks. Disorderly bands of ragged soldiers were seen in all directions, most of them with plunder of some kind, and all in spirits with their victory.

In the meantime, I was assailed by both parties

* This invasion was occasioned by the interference of the Raja of Bikaneer, in a war between the Rajas of Joudpoor and Jypoor, for the hand of the princess of Ondipoor.

with constant applications, the Joudpoor general urging me to come to his camp, and the Raja desiring me to take part with him. The former could only throw out hints of danger from omitting to comply with his wishes, but the Raja could at pleasure accelerate or retard the provision of our cattle and supplies; and by placing a guard over the well which had been allotted to us, he one day showed, to our no small uneasiness, how completely he had us in his power. The restriction, however, was removed on a remonstrance, and might have been occasioned by the water being required elsewhere; for while we were taking in water for our journey, we were ourselves obliged to place guards over the well, and to withhold water entirely from our camels, for the two or three last days of our stay.

The time of our residence was variously occupied. At first there was some novelty in observing the natives, with whom our camp was crowded like a fair. Nothing could exceed their curiosity; and when one of us appeared abroad, he was stared at like a prodigy. They wore loose clothes of white cotton or muslin, like the people of Hindoostan; but were distinguished from them by their Raujpoot features, and by their remarkable turban, which rises high over the head like a mitre, and has a cloth of some other colour wound round the bottom. Some of our party went into the town, where, although curiosity drew a mob round them, they were treated with great civility; others rode out into the desart, but were soon wearied with the dreary and unvaried prospect it afforded; for within ten yards of the town was as waste as the wildest part of Arabia. On the northern side

alone there was something like a woody valley. The most curious sight at Bikaneer was a well of fine water, immediately under the fort, which is the residence of the Raja. It was three hundred feet deep, and fifteen or twenty feet in diameter. Four buckets, each drawn by a pair of oxen, worked at it at once; and when a bucket was let down, its striking the water made a noise like a great gun.

Great part of our time was taken up with the Raja's visit, and our attendance at his palace. The Raja came to my camp through a street, formed by his own troops and joined by one of ours, which extended from the skirts of the camp to the tent where he was received. He was carried on men's shoulders in a vehicle, like the body of an old-fashioned coach. He was preceded by a great many chobdars, bearing slender silver maces, with large knobs at the top, which they waved over their heads in the air, and followed by a numerous retinue. He sat down on a musnud (a kind of throne composed of cushions), under a canopy, or rather an awning of red velvet, embroidered and laced with gold, and supported by four silver pillars, all of which he had sent out for the purpose. We conversed on various subjects for an hour. Among other topics, the Raja inquired about the age of the King, the climate of England, and the politics of the nation. He showed a knowledge of our relation to France; and one of the company asked, whether my mission was not owing to our wars with that nation. Presents were at last put before him and his courtiers, according to the Indian custom, after which he withdrew.

Raja Soorut Sing is a man of a good height, and a

fair complexion, for an Indian. He has black whiskers and a beard (except on the middle of his chin), a long nose, and Raujpoot features: he has a good face, and a smiling countenance. He is reckoned an oppressive prince. It is strongly suspected that he poisoned his elder brother, whom he succeeded; and it is certain that he murdered an agent sent from the Vizier of Hindoostan to the King of Caubul. Yet, as he is very strict in his devotions, and particular in the diet prescribed by his religion,* his subjects allow him the character of a saint.

I returned his visit on the next day but one, having been invited by his second son, who, though an infant, was sent for that purpose with a great retinue. The fort looked well as we approached. It was a confused assemblage of towers and battlements, overtopped by houses crowded together. It is about a quarter of a mile square, surrounded by a wall thirty feet high, and a good dry ditch. The palace was a curious old building, in which, after ascending several flights of steps, we came to a court surrounded by buildings, and then had one hundred yards to go before we reached a small stone hall, supported by pillars, where the Raja took his seat under his canopy. The court was different from any thing I had seen, those present being fairer than other Hindostanees, and marked by their Jewish features and showy turbans. The Raja and his relations had turbans of many colours, richly adorned with jewels; and the Raja sat resting his arms on a shield of steel, the bosses and rim of which were set with diamonds and rubies. After some time,

* It is whimsical that the Hindoos of the sands of Bikaneer should particularly object to eating fish.

the Raja proposed that we should withdraw from the heat and crowd, and conducted us into a very neat, cool, and private apartment in a separate court; the walls were of plaster, as fine as stucco, and were ornamented in good taste; the doors were closed with curtains of China satin. When we were seated on the ground, in the Indian way, the Raja began a speech, in which he said he was a subject of the throne of Delly, that Delly was now in our hands, and he seized the opportunity of my coming, to acknowledge our sovereignty. He then called for the keys of his fort, and insisted on my taking them, which I refused, disclaiming the extended rights ascribed to us. After a long contest, the Raja consented to keep the keys; and when some more conversation had passed, a mob of dancing-women entered, and danced and sung till we withdrew.

We at last marched from Bikaneer on the night of the 16th of November. The country we passed on the two first nights was like that already described; and our people were so fatigued after the second march, that we intended to have halted a day to refresh them, when the Dewaun of the Raja of Bikaneer acquainted us with some movements of a certain partizan, and of some of the predatory tribes of the desart, which induced us to move in the day instead of the night, to enable us the better to protect our baggage.

In consequence of this change, the general beat at two o'clock in the morning, (November 19th), but it was daylight before our water, and all our other loads, were prepared; and it was dark before we reached our ground at Pooggul, after a march of twenty-four

miles. The whole was wavy sand-hills, some of them of an astonishing height. Our people were in great distress for water during the whole day. At Pooggul, however, we found abundance of good water for sale. It was rain-water, preserved in small reservoirs, vaulted over with brick and mortar. There was well-water also, which was brackish, but not noxious. The wells were not more than half as deep as those of Bikaneer.

We halted on the 20th of November, to take in water, and I had a good opportunity of examining the place. If I could present to my reader the fore-ground of high sand-hills, the village of straw huts, the clay walls of the little fort going to ruins, as the ground which supported them was blown away by the wind, and the sea of sand without a sign of vegetation, which formed the rest of the prospect, he probably would feel, as I did, a sort of wonder at the people who could reside in so dismal a wilderness, and of horror at the life to which they seemed to be condemned.

On the 21st we marched at day-break; and for the first ten or twelve miles were in sand as above described, after which we reached the hard plain. No sooner were we clear of the sand-hills, than our camels moved up into a line of twelve or fifteen abreast, and the whole of our caravan began to move with tolerable speed. The contrast between this and the sand-hills was very exhilarating, though even those had not been unpleasing, while they had novelty to recommend them. In the course of the day we were overtaken by a subject of Buhawul Khaun, who had lost his way in tracking some camels carried off in an

incursion of the Raujpoots, had exhausted his skin of water, and had tasted no food for two days. We fed and put him on a camel. Before dark we met a party of one hundred and fifty soldiers on camels, belonging to Bahawul Khaun, the chief of one of the King of Caubul's eastern provinces. There were two men on each camel, and each had a long and glittering matchlock. They advanced and saluted in three or four very good lines. Their camels seemed as manageable as horses, and their appearance was altogether novel and striking; their commander had a long beard, and was dressed in a Persian tunic of buff broad cloth, with gold buttons, and a low cap like the crown of a hat. He was mounted on an excellent, light, speedy, and easy camel, with a very showy saddle, and two reins, one passing through a hole in each nostril of the camel. His language was scarcely intelligible to any of our party. He brought us one hundred camels, carrying four hundred skins of water from Moujgur. He had also four brazen jars of water from the Hyphasis, which was intended for our own drinking, and was sealed up with the Khaun's signet. We soon after encamped in the midst of the desart, about twenty-six miles from Pooggul. We enjoyed the water of the Hyphasis extremely, and were all delighted with the new people we were getting among, and the new scenes we were approaching.

On the 22nd we made a march of thirty miles to Moujgur; the heat of the afternoon was intense while we halted as usual in the naked plain, to give our people some water, and to take some refreshment ourselves. In the course of the day several hundred skins of water came to us from Moujgur, where Bahawul

Khaun had sent his principal officers to receive us. Towards evening many persons were astonished with the appearance of a long lake, enclosing several little islands; notwithstanding the well-known nature of the country, many were positive that it was a lake, and one of the surveyors took the bearings of it. It was, however, only one of those illusions which the French call *mirage*, and the Persians *sirraub*. I had imagined this phenomenon to be occasioned by a thin vapour (or something resembling a vapour), which is seen over the ground in the hot weather in India; but this appearance was entirely different, and, on looking along the ground, no vapour whatever could be perceived. The ground was quite level and smooth, composed of dried mud or clay, mixed with particles of sparkling sand: there were some tufts of grass, and some little bushes of rue, &c. at this spot, which were reflected as in water, and this appearance continued at the ends when viewed from the middle. I shall not attempt to account for this appearance, but shall merely remark that it seems only to be found in level, smooth, and dry places. The position of the sun with reference to the spectator appears to be immaterial. I thought at first that great heat always accompanied its appearance; but it was afterwards seen in Damaun when the weather was not hotter than is experienced in England.

About sunset we descried the high walls and towers of Moujgur, with a conspicuous mosque which stands over the gateway, and a tomb with a cupola, ornamented with painted tiles, resembling, as I was told, the tombs of Imaumzaddahs in Persia. We arrived a little after dark, and encamped near the fort, which

is small and weak. We remained here two days, taking in water. Bahawul Khaun's Dewaun, and another of his officers, who joined us here, were Hindoos; the third was a Moollah of Moultaun, whose dress, language, and manners were very like those of Persia. Even the Hindoos sometimes used the Persian idiom in speaking Hindostanee, and the Dewaun looked and spoke more like a Persian Moollah than a Hindoo. On the 25th of November we marched twenty-seven miles to two wells in the desart. In the way we saw a most magnificent mirage, which looked like an extensive lake, or a very wide river. The water seemed clear and beautiful, and the figures of two gentlemen who rode along it were reflected as distinctly as in real water. A small but neat tower was seen in this march, and we were told it was a place of refuge for travellers against the predatory hordes who infest the route of caravans. There were some stunted bushes of the Mimosa Arabica on the march; and at the ground was something that might be called a tree.

On the 26th, we marched at daylight, and passed over low and bare hills of loose sand, and bottoms of hard clay, till, after travelling twelve miles, we perceived something stretched across in front of us, which soon after appeared to be trees. We then pushed on with increased alacrity, and soon reached a place where the desart and the cultivated country were separated as if by a line. A long row of trees ran along the edge of the sands; and beyond it were clumps of trees, green fields, and wells of abundant and clear water, with houses, and every sign of fertility and cultivation. One of the first things we saw

was a well, worked by a Persian wheel, which was pouring out water in the greatest abundance. The trees, though only low tamarisk, seemed enchanting to us; and every thing was welcome after our five weeks' sojourn in the desart. We passed for a mile and a half under the walls of Bahawulpoor, which, as well as the roads, were crowded with spectators, who, in their turn, afforded no uninteresting spectacle to us. A striking difference was observable between them and the people on the east of the desart. Those we now saw were strong, dark, harsh-featured; had their hair and beards long; wore caps oftener than turbans; and spoke a language entirely unintelligible to our Hindoostauny attendants. The better sort wore the dress and affected the manners of Persia. After crossing a small canal, and passing through some fields, we left the woods, and at length reached the banks of the Hyphasis. I was much disappointed in the breadth of the river, as well as with the appearance of its shores; but it was impossible to look without interest on a stream which had borne the fleet of Alexander.

On the next day but one Bahawul Khaun arrived, having come forty miles on purpose to show attention to the mission. Indeed, his whole conduct, from the time we approached his frontier, showed a spirit of kindness and hospitality which could not be surpassed; nor did it cease when we left this country; for, even after we had passed the Indus, he continued to send us intelligence, and to take every opportunity of showing us attention. In our first intercourse with him we began to determine the presents to be made, expecting to have a long struggle against his rapacity,

as is usual on such occasions in most parts of India; but we soon found we had to encounter a difficulty of another kind. Bahawul Khaun would take nothing without a negotiation; while he was anxious to show his own liberality to an extent which we were unwilling to admit.

On the day of his arrival he sent eighty sheep, one hundred maunds of flour, and other articles of the same kind. Next day he sent one hundred pots of sweetmeats, a vast number of baskets of oranges, ten bags of almonds and raisins, and five bags, each containing one thousand rupees (equal to one hundred and twenty pounds), to be given to the servants. I was a little embarrassed by this last piece of hospitality; but was obliged to submit, on condition that the Khaun's servants should accept a similar donation from me.

On the 29th, Mr. Strachey and Captain Raper paid a visit to the Khaun, and returned charmed with the polite and cordial reception he gave them. Among other conversation, he praised the King of Caubul highly, but said he had never seen him. "He feared the snows of Caubul, and was besides a dweller of the desart, and unworthy to appear before so great a monarch." On the 1st of December he came to my tent. He was a plain, open, pleasant man, about forty-five or fifty years of age: he had on a white tunic, with small gold buttons, over which was a wide mantle of very rich and beautiful gold brocade: on his head was a cap of brocade, and over it a loongee (or silken turban), twisted loosely. About six of his attendants sat; the rest stood round, and were well dressed and respectable. Our conversation turned on India and

England and lasted till the Khaun remarked it was getting late.

On the 2nd I returned his visit. The streets were crowded to an incredible degree, and the terraced tops of the houses were covered with spectators. They left the part of the street through which we were to pass quite clear; and, except now and then an exclamation of surprise when we came in sight, they kept a profound silence. The Khaun received us in a handsome room with attic windows, round which a neat and orderly company were seated on a Persian carpet. He conversed freely on all subjects; said he had never seen the King, and please God he never would; he could live in his desart and hunt his deer, and had no desire to follow courts. He showed me a curious clock, made by one of his own people. The works seemed very good; the bell was below the works; and the whole was in a case of gold, with very thick crystal sides. He also showed an excellent gun-lock, made at Bahawulpoor. He gave me two fine hawks,some greyhounds, two horses, (one with gold, and the other with enamelled trappings,) a very beautiful matchlock, richly enamelled, with a powder-flask in the English model, and some trays of cloths of the place.

On the 4th we marched. Bahawul Khaun sent out a tent into the neighbourhood of ours, where we had a parting meeting while our last baggage was crossing the river. He introduced the mechanic who made the clock, and presented me to several persons, who he said were Ulema (or Mahommedan school divines). Afterwards he retired to a carpet at some distance from the tents with Mr. Strachey and me, and there

spoke fully on all subjects, giving me all the advice and information in his power. He ended by saying, that as he was the first subject of Khorassaun with whom we had met, he hoped we would preserve the remembrance of him after we had extended our acquaintance. We took leave of him with great regret. He had been liberal and kind to us during our stay, without over civility or ceremony; and he had an appearance of sincerity in every thing he said, which made his show of friendship the more agreeable.

We rode out often during our halt at Bahawulpoor, and saw the town and its environs. The town is about four miles in circumference; but there are gardens of mangoe trees within the walls. The houses are of unburnt bricks, with terraces of mud: the city wall is of mud, and very thin. Bahawulpoor is remarkable for the manufacture of loongees, or silken girdles, and turbans. The inhabitants of this, and all the neighbouring countries on the west and north, are principally Juts and Beloches, who profess the Mahommedan religion. There are more Hindoos at Bahawulpoor than any of the other provinces the mission passed through. Afghauns are foreigners there. The country, for four or five miles on each side of the Hyphasis, is formed of the slime deposited by the river. It is very rich, and often so soft that it cannot be ridden on. Some parts are highly cultivated, and others are covered with coppice of low tamarisk, in which are many wild boars and hog-deer. Wild geese, partridges, florikens, and other game, are also abundant on the banks of the river.

The river winds much at this place, and is very muddy; but the water, when cleared, is excellent.

It is here called the Gharra, and is formed by the joint streams of the Hyphasis, or Beyah, and Hysudrus, or Sutledge.

The mission marched on the 5th of December from the right bank of the Hyphasis, and reached Moultaun on the 11th, a distance of near seventy miles. After the first five or six miles, the country was in general dry, sandy, and destitute of grass, but scattered with bushes. Immediately round the villages, which were pretty numerous, were fields of wheat, cotton, and turnips, in a thriving condition. There were so a great number of large and deep water-courses throughout the whole journey, that, judging from them alone, one would have supposed the country to be highly cultivated.

Before we reached Moultaun, we were overtaken by twenty-five camels sent us by Bahawul Khaun. That chief is famous for his camels, some of which he keeps for his own use, and always hunts upon them. They are very generally used in all the desart country, and are admirably calculated for long journeys. An elderly minister of the Raja of Bikaneer, whom I met at Singana, had just come on a camel from Bikaneer (a distance of one hundred and seventy-five miles) in three days. Several of our party liked them so well as to continue to ride them for pleasure after we had crossed the Indus. Their walk and trot are far from being very uneasy.

The city of Moultaun stands about four miles from the left bank of the Chenaub, or Acesines. It is above four miles and a half in circumference. It is surrounded with a fine wall, between forty and fifty feet high, with towers at regular distances. It has

also a citadel on a rising ground, and several fine tombs, particularly two, with very high cupolas, ornamented with the painted and glazed tile already noticed, which altogether gave it a magnificent appearance. These tombs are seen from a great distance all round the town. Moultaun is famous for its silks, and for a sort of carpet, much inferior to those of Persia. The country immediately round the city was very pleasing, fertile, well cultivated, and well watered from wells. The people were like those at Bahawulpoor, except that there were more men who looked like Persians mixed with them; these, however, were individuals, and chiefly horsemen.

The mission remained for nineteen days in the neighbourhood of Moultaun, and as most of the party were out almost every day from seven or eight to three or four, shooting, hunting, or hawking, we had good opportunities of observing the country. The land was flat, and the soil excellent, but a large proportion of the villages were in ruins, and there were other signs of a well-cultivated country going to decay; about one-half was still cultivated, and most abundantly watered by Persian wheels: the produce was wheat, millet, cotton, turnips, carrots, and indigo. The trees were chiefly neem* and date, with here and there a peepul† tree. The uncultivated country near the river was covered with thick copse-wood of tamarisk, mixed with a tree like a willow, about twenty feet high: at a distance from the river, it was bare, except for scattered tufts of long grass, and here and there a date tree. The country abounded in game of all kinds. The weather was

* Melia Azadarachta. † Ficus Religiosa.

delightful during our stay; the thermometer, when at the lowest, was at 28° at sun-rise: there were slight frosts in the night, but the days were rather warm.

We were detained thus long at Moultaun by the necessity of purchasing and hiring camels, and of obtaining correct intelligence of the King of Caubul's motions, as well as of waiting for a Mehmandaur* from his Majesty, to accompany the mission after it entered the lands of the Afghaun tribes. We were also occupied in changing the camels which we brought from Hindoostan for those of the country, in making warm clothing for the Sepoys, and in procuring horses to mount many of our attendants, according to the custom of the country we were about to enter.

The principal events of our stay were our meetings with the governor of the province. The name of this personage was Serafrauz Khaun, and as his government was in India, he had the title of Nabob. He was of an Afghaun family, of the royal tribe of Suddozye, but his ancestors had so long been settled in Moultaun, that he had lost most of the characteristics of his nation. He seems to have been seized with a panic as soon as he heard of the approach of the mission, and the whole of his behaviour to the end, was marked with suspicion and distrust. He shut the gates of the city against us, and allowed none of our men or followers to enter, without express permission. He also doubled his guards, and we heard, from good authority, of debates in his

* An officer appointed to receive and do the honours to such guests as the King wishes to show attention to.

council, whether it was most probable that we should endeavour to surprise the city, or that we should procure a cession of it to us from the King. He, however, agreed to visit me on the 15th of December, and a very large tent was pitched for his reception. One end of it was open, and from the entrance two canvass skreens ran out, so as to form an alley about twenty yards long, which was lined with servants in livery, other servants extending beyond it. The troops were also drawn up in line along the road to the tent.

Mr. Strachey went to meet the governor, and found him mounted on a white horse, with gold trappings, attended by his officers and favourites, surrounded with large standards, and escorted by two hundred horse and three thousand foot. The dust, crowd, and confusion of the meeting, are represented by Mr. Strachey as beyond all description. The governor welcomed Mr. Strachey according to the Persian custom, after which they joined, and proceeded to the tent, the pressure and disorder increasing as they went. In some places men were fighting, and in others people were ridden down; Mr. Strachey's own horse was nearly borne to the ground, and only recovered himself by a violent exertion. When they approached the tent, they missed the road, came in front of the line of troops, and rushed on the cavalry with such impetuosity, that there was barely time to wheel back, so as to allow a passage. In this manner the tide poured on towards the tent: the line of servants was swept away, the skreens were torn down and trampled under foot, and even the tent ropes were assailed with such fury, that the whole

tent was nearly struck over our heads. The inside was crowded and darkened in an instant. The governor and about ten of his companions sat, the rest seemed to be armed attendants; and, indeed, the governor seemed to have attended to nothing but the number of his guards. He sat but for a very short time, during the whole of which he was telling his beads with the utmost fervency, and addressing me with "You are welcome, you are very welcome," as fast as he could repeat the words. At last, he said he was afraid the crowd must annoy me, and withdrew. Surafrauz Khaun was a good-looking young man; he wore the Persian dress, with a cap and a shawl turban over it, and spoke very good Persian. His attendants were large, fair, and handsome Afghauns, most of them very well dressed, but in no sort of order or discipline. On the same evening I returned his visit, and found him sitting under an awning, on a terrace, in one of his gardens. He had a large company sitting with him in good order. They differed greatly in appearance from the natives of India, but were neither so handsomely dressed, nor so decorous as Persians. The Nabob being now free from alarm, was civil, and agreeable enough.

While at Moultaun, and in the neighbourhood, I received visits from Moollah Jaffer Seestaunee, from the King's deputy Hircarra Baushee, or News-writer, and from various other persons. My intercourse with one person deserves to be mentioned, as characteristic of the government of Moultaun. Secunder Khaun, the Nabob's uncle, being once hunting near my camp, sent to me, to say that he had enclosed three wild boars within his nets, and to beg I would come and

join in the chase of them. I thought it prudent to excuse myself; but I sent a native gentleman with a civil message, some fine gunpowder, and a spy-glass. Secunder Khaun returned me an indifferent horse, and sent a boar to be hunted at leisure. Thus far all was well, but two days afterwards he sent back my present, and desired to have his horse back, as he was in danger of being confined, or put to death for intriguing with the English.

On the 16th of December, we moved to the banks of the Acesines, here called the Chenaub. It has received the waters of the Hydaspes and Hydraotes, before it reaches this place.

We passed the river on the 21st of December (our baggage having taken some days in crossing before us), and we pitched about three miles from the right bank of the river. From this ground we first discerned the mountains of Afghaunistaun. They appeared at a great distance to the west, and must have been the part of the range of Solimaun, which is to the north-west of Dera Ghauzi Khaun, and, consequently, seventy or eighty miles from Moultaun. At length our preparations were completed, and, after many projects for overcoming the difficulties of a journey through the snow to Candahar, we had the satisfaction of learning that the King had set out on the road to Caubul. We, therefore, renewed our march on the 29th of December, and began to cross the little desart, which extends from north to south upwards of two hundred and fifty miles, but the breadth of which was so little in this part, that we crossed it in two marches. It fills up all that part of the country between the Hydaspes and Indus which

is not inundated by those rivers, and extends from the latitude of Ooch, where the inundated lands of both join, to the Salt range. It seems to be a part of the great desart cut off from the main body by the rivers and their rich banks. We entered it a few miles west of our encampment near the Acesines. The line between the cultivated country and the desart, was marked and decided, and we found ourselves at once among sand-hills, stunted bushes, burs, and phoke; yet those were not so common as to preclude the necessity of carrying forage for our cattle. The sand-hills were lower than those of the great desart, and here they were grey, while those had been reddish yellow. The water was brackish. At the end of our second march, we were within the limits of the inundation of the Indus; and on the morning of the 31st of December, Mr. Strachey, Lieutenant Macartney, and I, set out for the banks of that celebrated river. We had a guide on a camel, some troopers, and three or four servants on camels and horses. We passed over a rich soil, covered with long grass, in which were mixed many trees of the kind like willow, and here and there patches of cultivation. The day was cloudy, with occasional drops of rain, and a very cold wind blew till after noon. The hills were distinctly in sight during the whole of our ride. Their appearance was beautiful; we clearly saw three ranges, the last of which was very high, and we often doubted whether we were deceived by the clouds, or really saw still higher ranges beyond. While we were looking at the hills, a mass of heavy clouds rolled down those most to the north, so as to entirely to conceal them from our sight, and a line of clouds

rested on the middle of those to the west, leaving the summits and the bases clear. On the next day, these clouds had passed away, and had left the hills covered with snow. We were anxious and happy as we approached the river, and were not a little gratified when at last we found ourselves upon its banks.

The Indus, besides its great name, and the interest it excites as the boundary of India, was rendered a noble object by its own extent, and by the lofty hills which formed the back ground of the view. We were however a little disappointed in its appearance, owing to an island, which divided it, and impaired the effect of its stream. There were other islands and sandbanks in the river; but near the side where we stood, it came up to the edge, and seemed deep and rapid. While on the bank of the river, we met a native, to whose conversation, and that of the guide, we listened with great interest and curiosity. The plains on the opposite shore we found were inhabited by Beloches, and the mountains by the Sheeraunees, a fierce and turbulent tribe. On the other side of the range were tribes and places, of which we had never heard the names; while those we had learned from our maps, were equally new to our informants. All we could learn was, that beyond the hills was something wild, strange, and new, which we might hope one day to explore.

From Oodoo da Kote, near which we first saw the Indus, to the ferry of Kaheeree, where we crossed it, is about seventy-five miles. It is a narrow tract, contested between the river and the desart. If in hunting, we were led many miles to the west of the road, we got into branches of the river, and troublesome

quicksands, among thickets of tamarisk or of reeds ; and, if we went as far to the right, the appearance of sand, and even in some places of sand-hills, admonished us of the neighbourhood of the desart. Many parts, however, were cultivated with great pains and method, and produced good crops of wheat, barley, turnips, and cotton. The fields were always enclosed, either with hedges of dry thorn, with hurdles of willow, or with fences, made of stiff mats of reeds, supported by stakes. The houses were often built of the same material. We were struck with the neatness of the farm-yards, so unlike those of Hindostan. They were regularly enclosed ; had gates of three or four bars ; and contained sheds for the cattle, dung-hills, &c. It was also new to us to observe hand-barrows, and to see oxen fed with turnips. Some of the houses near the river attracted our attention, being raised on platforms, supported by strong posts, twelve or fifteen feet high. We were told they were meant to take refuge in during the inundation, when the country for ten or twelve coss (twenty or twenty-four miles,) from the banks were under water.

The people were remarkably civil and well behaved. Their features were more pleasing than those of the people at Bahawulpoor and Moultaun ; and their appearance and complexion continued to improve as we got northward, till we reached the ferry : their dress improved in the same manner. Even towards the south, the men were all dressed in gowns of white or blue cotton, and had no part of their bodies exposed, which, with their beards, and the gravity and decency of their behaviour, made them look like Moulavees

(or doctors of Mahommedan law) in Hindoostan. Even there, they wore brownish grey great-coats of coarse woollen cloth ; and that dress became more common towards the north, where all the people wore coloured clothes, blue, red, or check ; the turban also is there exchanged for caps of quilted silk, not unlike Welsh wigs, and certainly not handsome. Our halting places were generally at large villages. One was at Leia, which, although it gives its name to the province, is a poor place, containing about five hundred houses.

At many of these villages are tombs, like those already noticed. The handsomest is that of Mahommed Raujun, at a village that bears his name. It is an octagon building, three or four stories high, and covered with painted tiles. At each corner of the lower story is a small round tower, surmounted by a little minaret, which has a good effect. These tombs are conspicuous objects, being generally seen from stage to stage.

I ought also to notice a high bank, which ran to the right of our road, from the march north of Leia to the ferry, though now seven miles from the Indus ; it is said to have been the eastern bank of that river at no very remote period, and its appearance is favourable to the story. At Leia, I was joined by two Dooraunee horsemen, the first I had an opportunity of observing. They were sent by the governor of the province to accompany me to his limits. They both wore large red mantles, lined or edged with fur. One was fair, with a high nose, and a pleasing countenance : he wore a silken turban over a small cap.

The other was dark, with coarse blunt features, and a hardy look ; he wore a sheep-skin cap, like a Persian, but lower. Both were civil and attentive. At Leia, also, I was visited by a Persian attendant of the King's, and by a young Hindoo, a brother of Muddud Khaun's Dewaun, who, though dressed like a Dooraunee, still bore strong traces of his origin. I was a good deal surprised at the freedom with which all my visitors spoke of the government, and of the civil wars. Besides those persons whom we met in towns, and the common labouring people, the general desire to see us gave us opportunities of observing almost all descriptions of men. Sometimes a number of horsemen would join us on the line of march, two or three sallying from every village we passed : they were often on mares, with the foals running after them, and armed with long spears. They were always very civil. The notions entertained of us by the people were not a little extraordinary. They had often no conception of our nation or religion. We have been taken for Syuds, Moguls, Afghauns, and even for Hindoos.

They believed we carried great guns, packed up in trunks ; and that we had certain small boxes, so contrived as to explode, and kill half a dozen men each, without hurting us. Some thought we could raise the dead ; and there was a story current, that we had made and animated a wooden ram at Moultaun ; that we had sold him as a ram, and that it was not till the purchaser began to eat him, that the material of which he was made, was discovered.

At the ferry on the Indus, we met some Sik merchants, who had gone as far as Damaun to purchase madder. They described the Afghaun tribes as gene-

rally kind to travellers, and honest in their dealings; but one tribe (the Vizeerees), they said were savages, and eat human flesh.

We crossed the Indus at the Kaheree ferry, on the 7th of January. The main stream was there 1010 yards broad, though its breadth was diminished by several parallel branches, one of which was two hundred and fifty yards broad. We passed in good flat-bottomed boats made of fir, and capable of carrying from thirty to forty tons. Our camels had their feet tied, and were thrown into the boats like any other baggage; our horses also crossed in boats. The elephants alone swam, to the great astonishment of the people of the country, who, probably, had never seen an animal of the kind before. From the ferry to Dera Ismael Khaun was thirty-five miles. The country was covered with thickets of long grass and thorny shrubs, full of game of all kinds, from partridges to wild boars, and leopards.

The cultivation was flourishing, but was not extensive, though water is abundant, and the soil, to appearance, enjoys all that richness and fecundity, for which inundated countries are so famous.

We reached Dera Ismael Khaun on the 11th of January. Before we entered Dera, we were met by Futteh Khaun, a Beloche, who governs this province as deputy for Mahommed Khaun, to whom it, as well as Leia, is assigned by the King. He was splendidly attired, and accompanied by a few infantry, and a troop of ill-dressed and ill-mounted horse, armed with long spears. He and his companions expatiated on the greatness of their master, on the strength of his twenty forts, the number of his cannon, the forty

blacksmiths who were employed night and day to make shot for them, and other topics of the same kind. In the course of the day, Futteh Khaun sent us a present, including six bottles of Caubul wine, and two of the essence of a plant much vaunted in the East, and called the bedee mishk, or musk-willow.

We remained near a month at Dera Ismael Khaun waiting for a Mehmandaur.

The town is situated in a large wood of date-trees, within a hundred yards of the Indus. It has a ruinous wall of unburned bricks, about a mile and a half in circumference. The inhabitants of the town were chiefly Beloches, though there were also some Afghauns and Hindoos: the latter have a temple in the town. The country people are Beloches and Juts, resembling those on the opposite bank of the Indus. We saw many Afghauns from Damaun, who differed much from the Beloches. They were large and bony men, with long coarse hair, loose turbans, and sheep-skin cloaks; plain and rough, but pleasing in their manners. We had often groups of horsemen round our camp, who came from a distance to look at us, and visitors who were prompted by curiosity to court our acquaintance.

There were several hordes of wandering shepherds encamped in different parts of the vast plain where we were. We went on the day after our arrival to examine one, which belonged to the Kharotees, the rudest of all the pastoral tribes. We rode about ten miles to this camp, over a plain of hard mud, like part of the desart, but covered with bushes of jaund and kureel, and evidently rich, though neglected. On our way we saw some Afghaun shepherds driving a

herd of about fifty camels towards Dera: one of the camels was pure white, with blue eyes.* The Afghauns spoke no Persian nor Hindoostanee; they were very civil, stopped the white camel till we had examined it, and showed us their swords, which we were desirous to look at, because the hilts differed from those both of Persia and India: they were most like those of the latter country, but neater. At last, after a ride of ten miles, we reached the camp. It was pitched in a circle, and the tents were coarse brown blankets, each supported by two little poles placed upright, and one laid across for a ridge-pole The walls were made of dry thorn. Our appearance excited some surprise; and one man, who appeared to have been in India, addressed me in a kind of Hindoostanee, and asked what brought us there? whether we were not contented with our own possessions, Cawnpore, and Lucknow, and all those fine places? I said we came as friends, and were going to the King. After this we soon got intimate, and by degrees we were surrounded by people from the camp. The number of children was incredible; they were mostly fair and handsome. The girls, I particularly observed, had aquiline noses and Jewish features. The men were generally dark, though some were quite fair. One young man in particular, who stood and stared in silent amazement, had exactly the colour, features, and appearance of an Irish haymaker. They had generally high noses, and their stature was rather small than large. Some had brown woollen

* It was afterwards bought by a gentleman of the mission, who gave it away in India; and was subsequently, I understand, exhibited in London.

great-coats, but most had white cotton clothes, and they all wore white turbans: they were very dirty. They did not seem at all jealous of their women. Men, women, and children crowded round us, felt our coats, examined our plated stirrups, opened our holsters, and showed great curiosity, but were not troublesome. Scarce one of them understood any language but Pushtoo; but in their manners they were all free, good-humoured, and civil. I learnt that they had been there three months, and were to return in two more, to pass the summer near Ghuznee. They said that was a far superior country to Damaun. I could make out little even of what the linguist said; and there were too many both of English and Afghauns to admit of any attempt at a regular conversation.

Before we left Dera, two of our party, Mr. Fraser and Lieutenant Harris, set out on an expedition of considerable hazard and difficulty. Their object was to ascend the peak called Tukhte Solimaun, or Soliman's Throne, where the people of the country believe the ark to have rested after the deluge. After two days' march over a naked plain, they came to an ascent, and, four miles farther on, to the village of Deraubund, the chief place of the little tribe of Meeaunkhail. It is a neat little town on a fine clear cold stream, six miles from the hills. They were received by the chief's brother, who had just come in from hunting. He was a fair, good-looking young man, with a rude but becoming dress, a bow and quiver at his back, a hare's scut in his turban, and two fine greyhounds following him. His reception of the strangers was kind: he ordered dinner to their

tent, and proposed that his brother should wait on them; but did not press the visit, on their excusing themselves. For dinner they had a good pilow, and a plate of the fat of the tail of the Doomba sheep to steep their bread in. Next morning Omar Khaun, the chief, came while the gentlemen were dressing; he waited without the tent till they were ready, and then entered. He was an uncommonly handsome fair man, under thirty years of age; he wore a black shawl-turban, and a light blue cloak, ornamented with black silk frogs at the breast; his manners were very pleasing, and his demeanour dignified and easy. After they became acquainted, he told them that he was in much distress at that time, owing to factions in his tribe; asked their advice, and even begged them to give him a talisman to secure his success. While at Deraubund, the two gentlemen were riding out with two or three Hindoostanee horsemen behind them, when the latter were mobbed, and a stranger of the tribe of Solimaun Khail struck one of them thrice with the flat of a naked sword. The cause could not be discovered, as the Afghauns spoke nothing but *Pushtoo*. Omar Khaun alone, having been at Caubul, spoke Persian, of which some Moollas also knew a few words. Omar Khaun endeavoured to dissuade the gentlemen from their enterprise, as being too dangerous; but, finding that vain, he contrived to procure safeguards from his own enemies, the Sheeraunees, in whose country the mountain lay; he also made the gentlemen cover themselves up, so as to look as like natives of the country as they could, and he advised them to leave all their Indians behind; they then set off into the hills. They found

the north side sloping covered with fir-trees, and abounding in rocks of a kind of pudding-stone; there were many valleys divided by narrow ridges, and each watered by a clear brook. So circuitous was the road, by which they travelled, that after they had advanced about twelve miles, they found they were still three days' journey from the top; they also learned that the upper part of the mountain was rendered inaccessible by the snow; and these considerations, with the intended departure of the mission, rendered it necessary for them to return. They slept that night in a Sheeraunee village, lodging in a low hovel, partly sunk in the ground. They were offered bread and meat boiled in small lumps, but so bad that they could not eat it. They were lighted by pieces of a kind of deal, so full of turpentine, that they burned like torches. They then returned to Deraubund, and, after giving presents to the chief and his brother, they set out for camp. They both spoke highly of the kindness of Omar Khaun, and were also pleased with the attentions of one of the leaders of the party opposed to him.

On their way back, as they approached a ruined village, they saw spears rise, and seven horsemen issue forth: the gentlemen had but one man with them, but fortunately he was the guide furnished by Omar Khaun: the party in ambuscade was commanded by that chief's nephew, who, though he probably was as hospitable as the rest while the gentlemen were his guests, thought himself at full liberty to plunder them after they had quitted the lands of his tribe. He was, however, persuaded by the guide to go away without injuring them. Soon after, they were called to by a man on foot, and desired to stop;

on their disregarding him, the man lay down, and, fixing his matchlock on its rest, took a very deliberate aim at Mr. Harris. Here, however, the guide again interposed, and they reached camp without any farther adventures. Some of the people of Deraubund afterwards came to our camp, and received ample returns of hospitality from the gentlemen who had visited them.

Near the end of January we received intelligence from Mahommed Khaun, that the King was certainly coming to Peshawer, and that Moolla Jaffer Seestaunee was appointed to attend us till some person of rank could join us. After the passage of several chuppers, or couriers on horseback, from the court, Moolla Jaffer joined us, and we began to get ready for our march. Moolla Jaffer had been a schoolmaster in his native country of Seestaun, but had afterwards come to court to better his fortune: he had some success in commerce, and had an opportunity of obliging the King and enriching himself at once, by purchasing some of His Majesty's jewels, during his misfortunes,* and flight to the mountains. He was now in great favour, though he maintained the style and manners of an ordinary merchant. He was a grave old gentleman, shrewd, sensible, and good-humoured, but blunt, and somewhat passionate. Under his guidance we set out from Dera Ismael Khaun on the 7th of February. Our road lay through thickets, as above described, on the river side. When we got near the end of our march, we discovered a party of Persian or Dooraunee horse, drawn up across the way, and soon learned they were one hundred horse who had come from the King, and brought

me a letter. The whole of the troops were dressed like Persians, with coloured clothes, boots, and low sheepskin caps. They had very neat housings of leopard skin and other materials. They wore Persian hilted swords, and had generally matchlocks; some had very short blunderbusses, with very small stocks, and barrels of exceedingly thin iron, tied to their girdles. They had small, but light and good horses. They were, on the whole, a very neat and orderly party. After we came to our ground, they sent us twenty mule loads of the fruits of Caubul, apples, grapes, &c.

In the evening, I went to a tent pitched about one hundred yards from my camp, to receive a dress of honour sent me from the King. I found the tent filled with the principal people from the King, standing with the same respect as if his Majesty had been present. I was instructed to bow to the dress, and was afterwards invested with a large flowing robe of gold cloth, lined with satin, which I was told the King himself had worn: a shawl was wound round my hat, and the King's letter was stuck in it; another shawl was given to me for a girdle, and all present said a short prayer. The dress was rich, and the shawls costly.

Next day, after passing through a country like that of the last day, we came to sand, and soon after reached the village of Paharpoor, which is scarcely less than Dera. We had heavy rain that night, and at day-break we were struck with the appearance of the mountains of Solimaun, which had been concealed for a week or more by thick vapour, and now stood forth in new splendour; the pureness of the air, and

the great addition of snow, making them seem higher and nearer than ever. Our march lay over sand, but before the end of it we reached scattered hills.

Our camp was pitched near the village of Puneealla, in a cheerful and beautiful spot, such as one would figure a scene in Arabia Felix. It was a sandy valley, bounded by craggy hills, watered by a little stream, and interspersed with clumps of date trees, and with patches of green corn. The village itself stood in a deep grove of date trees, on the side of a hill, from which many streams gushed through little caverns in the thickest part of the wood. The inhabitants were Beloches and Shaikhs, of Arabian descent. They plundered some of our people, and made others prisoners; and though this was made up, and we hired a strong safe-guard from them, we still lost some camels, and had stragglers plundered after we had left the place.

The next forty miles of our journey were up the valley of Largee, which, though only separated by a ridge of hills from the Indus, was so dry and sandy, that we were obliged to carry water as in the desart; yet even there we saw some camps of shepherds of the Afghaun tribe of Murwut, to whom the country belongs. After two dreary marches through the valley, we came into a rich and beautiful plain thirty-five miles in diameter, encircled with mountains, and divided by the Indus. We encamped that day on the river Koorrum, then shallow, though broad, but in summer a deep and rapid river. From this we made three marches across the plain to Calla-baugh, or Karra-baugh. The country belonged to the tribe of Esaukhail. It was naturally fertile, highly cultivated, and

watered by canals four feet broad, and as many deep. The people were more swarthy than we expected to see men of their nation, and looked more like Indians than Persians; they were, however, easily distinguished from the former people, by their long and thick hair, their beards, the loose folds of their turbans, and a certain independent and manly air, that marked them for Afghauns. They are notorious robbers, and carried off some of our camels, and of the King's horses; but their ordinary behaviour was civil and decent. I was surprised at their simplicity and equality: though they are a wealthy and flourishing tribe, their chief, who accompanied me through the whole of their lands, was as plain in his dress, and as simple in his manners, as the most ordinary person in the tribe.

While in the Esaukhail country, we were met by Moossa Khaun Alekkozye, the Dooraunee nobleman who was sent by the King to conduct us to court. He was a tall man, rather corpulent, but of a good figure. He had a fine beard, and was handsomely dressed in cloth of gold, with fine shawls; his sword and other accoutrements were mounted in gold; his horses were good, his trappings handsome, and he had good pistols in his holsters, with lions' heads in gold upon the butts. Though he scarcely looked forty, he was near sixty, had been engaged in civil and foreign wars, and had been raised by his party during a rebellion to the high rank of Sirdar. He had travelled in his own country, and had long been stationed in Cashmeer, in praise of which country, or rather of its licentious pleasures, he used often to enlarge. Altogether I found him very lively and entertaining, and perfectly gentlemanlike in his manners.

He was accompanied by a party of four or five hundred horse, who belonged to a Calmuk Dusteh, or regiment, though I saw no Calmucks among them. He was also accompanied by the chiefs of the Afghaun tribes of Bungush and Khuttuk, and by the chief of the town of Karra-baugh, plain men like Arabs, who accompanied us as far as the plain of Peshawer, each bringing a strong body of militia as we entered his lands.

Calla-baugh, where we left the plain, well deserves a minute description. The Indus is here compressed by mountains into a deep channel, only three hundred and fifty yards broad. The mountains on each side have an abrupt descent into the river, and a road is cut along their base for upwards of two miles. It had been widened for us, but was still so narrow, and the rock over it so steep, that no camel with a bulky load could pass: to obviate this inconvenience, twenty-eight boats had been prepared, to convey our largest packages up the river. The first part of this pass is actually overhung by the town of Calla-baugh, which is built in a singular manner upon the face of the hill, every street rising above its neighbour, and, I imagine, only accessible by means of the flat roofs of the houses below it. As we passed beneath, we perceived windows and balconies at a great height, crowded with women and children. The road beyond was cut out of solid salt, at the foot of cliffs of that mineral, in some places more than one hundred feet high above the river. The salt is hard, clear, and almost pure. It would be like crystal, were it not in some parts streaked and tinged with red. In some places, salt springs issue from the foot of the rocks, and leave

the ground covered with a crust of the most brilliant whiteness. All the earth, particularly near the town, is almost blood red, and this, with the strange and beautiful spectacle of the salt rocks, and the Indus flowing in a deep and clear stream through lofty mountains, past this extraordinary town, presented such a scene of wonders as is seldom to be witnessed. Our camp was pitched beyond the pass, in the mouth of a narrow valley, and in the dry bed of a torrent. Near it were piles of salt in large blocks (like stones at a quarry), lying ready for exportation, either to India or Khorassaun. It would have taken a week to satisfy us with the sight of Calla-baugh; but it threatened rain, and had the torrent filled while we were there, our whole camp must have been swept into the Indus.

On the 16th of February we marched up the valley, which became narrower as we advanced. After proceeding about seven miles, we entered a winding passage, so narrow that in many places our camels could scarcely pass: the rock rose some hundred feet on each side. This passage continued with a gentle ascent for three or four miles, during which time we saw nothing but the rocks on each side, and the sky overhead; at length the ascent grew more sudden, the hills on each side became gradually lower and more sloping, and after going over some very rough and steep road, we reached the top of the pass. The view that now presented itself was singularly wild and desolate. We were on the highest part of the mountains, and beneath us were the bare, broken, and irregular summits of the rest of the range, among which we saw several valleys like that we had ascended.

There were also still higher mountains to the north, covered with snow. We were shown what seemed a little brook for the Indus; and some smoke on its banks, was said to mark the site of the town of Muckud. Many other places were pointed out, but in such a confusion of hills and valleys, nothing made a distinct impression. From this point we descended a steep and rugged road, where, for the first time, we saw the wild olive. We encamped in a hollow in the face of the mountains, eighteen miles from our last ground. This place was called Chushmeh (the spring), from the rare circumstance of its having fresh water; it had also some deep soil, and had been cultivated by the Bauriks, a wild tribe, to whom these mountains belong. It rained hard before we got to our ground, and in the midst of it I observed Moolla Jaffa trotting on, sheltered by a cloak of stiff felt, which came to a point over his head, and covered him and all the hinder part of his horse, like a tent; behind him was his servant, with a culleaun packed into boxes, which were fixed to his saddle like holsters, and a chafing-dish of burning charcoal swinging from a chain beneath his horse's belly, and sparkling in spite of the rain.

The rain continued all night, and next morning we found it almost impossible to move. It was necessary, however, to try, as our provisions were likely to run short; and, accordingly, we began our march, amidst a dismal scene of high mountains surrounded with clouds, flooded valleys, and beating rain. Our road lay down a steep pass, and then down the channel of a salt torrent, which was running with great force. Though we began to load the cattle at noon, it was

late at night before any of us reached a recess between the torrent and the rocks, only a mile and a half from the place we had left. Many of our people wandered about all night in the rain and cold; and all were not arrived by two in the afternoon of the next day. Some of our camels died during the march, and the Bauriks took advantage of the confusion and disorder, to plunder some of our baggage. The rain fell heavily during the whole of the next day.

On the morning of the 19th, it was fair when the day broke, and at seven we proceeded on our journey. The torrent had run off, and its bed was now an excellent road. The air was clear, and the mountain scenery picturesque and agreeable. In the course of the march we had more than once to cross a rapid torrent, as deep as could well be forded. On its banks, we met Moosa Khaun, who we found had marched forward on the 16th, and was soon unable either to advance or return: his provisions had run out; and there had been a battle in his camp, and several persons wounded. Some of his men had been carried down in endeavouring to swim the torrent; but they had regained the shore, and no lives were lost. We afterwards went on through the hills, and crossed two cotuls or passes; from the last and steepest of which, we descended into Malgeen. This was a green and pleasant valley, about twelve miles long and five broad, surrounded by mountains, of which the most remote (those on the north and west) were covered with snow. The troops, and part of the baggage, had arrived by sunset, when a report was brought that our rear was attacked. Our own cavalry, and some of the Cal-

muks, were sent back, and arrived in time to prevent any serious loss. It was however too late for the rest of the baggage to cross the cotul; and a company of Sepoys was sent over to protect them. Next morning we were all assembled, and enabled to enjoy a day's rest, which was much required after the distresses of the journey. Our Sepoys and followers had not had a regular meal for three days, during which time they were exposed to all the inclemency of the weather. It was surprising how well they bore the cold, which (although there was no frost) was so severe, that even some of the European part of the mission were glad to wear a fur pelisse and over-alls night and day, during the rain.

We marched again on the 21st of February; and, after crossing a low rocky pass, descended into the country of the Shaudee Khail, whose principal village we passed. It was very pleasingly situated among trees, on the banks of the Toe, a deep and clear stream, flowing rapidly through a picturesque valley, the view up which was terminated at no great distance by snowy mountains. The roads near this were crowded with Afghauns, some of whom welcomed us, while all behaved with civility. At our encamping ground, near the very large village of Dodeh, we were met by Omar Khaun (the son of the Bungush chief), with seven or eight hundred match-lock men, dressed in blue. This place was in the plain of Cohaut, which is a circle of about twelve miles in diameter. The hills around were varied and picturesque; and those above the town of Cohaut were covered with snow. The plain was green, and well watered, and there were little groves up and

down its face. The climate was delightful. Snow never lies long on the lower hills about Cohaut, and had not fallen in the plain for some years: the fruits and flowers of all climates were said to be produced in the plain. We reached Cohaut on the next day. It was a neat town, and had a little fort on an artificial mound, which had been ruined in a struggle for the chiefship, that was scarcely settled when we were there. Near the town runs a stream, as clear as crystal, which issues from three fountains, and is first collected in a reservoir, not far below. It is hot in winter, and cold in summer. The chief accompanied us to see these springs; and then left us to breakfast on excellent butter, milk, eggs, and honey, which he had provided in great plenty. He also presented me with a box of moomeea or mummy, made at Cohaut. It was of the kind called moomeea maadenee, or mummy of the mine. It is made from a sort of stone, which is boiled in water; after being reduced to powder, an oil floats on the top, which hardens into a substance of the appearance and consistence of coal. It is a famous medicine throughout all the East, and is said to operate almost miraculous cures of fractures. Here we found a garden, which afforded us great delight, though perhaps a portion of its charms consisted in its abounding in English plants, from which we had been long estranged in the climate of India. Their beauty was rather augmented than diminished in our eyes, by their being out of leaf, and putting forth new buds. The garden spread along the bank of the stream I have described. It was enclosed by a hedge, full of wild raspberry and blackberry bushes,

and contained plum and peach trees in full blossom, weeping willows, and plane trees in leaf, together with apple trees, and many others that could not be distinguished from having lost their foliage. There were also numerous fine vines, as thick as a man's leg, twisted round the trees, as if they were wild. The walks were covered with green sod, which looked the more English, because some withered grass was seen among the full, soft, and fresh verdure of the new year. There was also clover, chick-weed, plantains, rib-grass, dandelions, common dock, and many other English weeds. We saw here a bird, very like a goldfinch, and another of the same size, remarkable for the beauty of its plumage, which was of the finest crimson, except on the head and wings, which were black. Some of the gentlemen thought they saw and heard thrushes and blackbirds. The celebrated Bedee Mishk was among the plants of this garden: and I was surprised to find it was a sort of willow, with sweet scented yellow flowers, of which the bees are very fond, and well known in Britain by the name of Palm.

On the 23rd of February, we marched from Cohaut; and, in about three miles, came to the foot of a tremendous cotul. The road up was only a mile and a half long, although it wound much; but it was exceedingly steep, and often went over large pieces of rock, which it was surprising that any animals could surmount. We went up with Moosa Khaun; and, when we reached the top, we sat down to wait till the camels should pass. We were joined by the Bungush chiefs, and some Dooraunees of Moosa Khaun's party, and spent two hours in conversation. After this, the

Khauns proposed some luncheon, and we assenting, they produced a napkin with some cold fowls and bread, of which we all partook very sociably, sitting in a circle, and eating with our hands. When we had finished our luncheon, and smoked a culleaun, which passed round the company, we proceeded on our journey. We then descended into a valley, about five hundred yards broad, belonging to the tribe of Kheiber, whose predatory character is so well described by Mr. Foster.* We saw many of these marauders in the course of our march; but our baggage was too well guarded to allow of their attacking it. We halted that day at Zerghoon Khail; and it is remarkable that the hills were so high, and the valleys so deep in this march, that the Surveyors could not see the sun to take an observation at noonday.

We marched early next morning; and, after some fine views in the valley, we reached its mouth, when a vast range of snowy mountains began to appear, and soon disclosed a spectacle of unequalled magnificence. We learned from our guides that it was part of the chain of Hindoo Coosh (the Indian Caucasus), and that, immediately beyond it, were Cashgar, Budukhshaun, and Tartary. By this time we had approached a little ruined tower in the mouth of the valley, and discovered a great many armed Kheiberees, sitting on the hills, looking wistfully at the camels passing.

* To show the dread entertained of the Kheiberees, Mr. Foster mentions an Armenian, who, after he had reached Peshawer on his way to Caubul, was so terrified at what he heard of them, that he went round by Moultaun, a journey of nine weeks, instead of one of eleven days, rather than venture into their haunts.

Moosa Khaun immediately halted the few horse he had with him, and proposed that we should stay in the tower till all our baggage was past: thither we went, and presently were joined by all the Kheiberees in a body. The chiefs only came up to us, and asked for a present; but Moosa Khaun told them to come to our camp after every thing was past, and we would consider of it, an arrangement they did not seem to approve. It gave me a strange notion of the system of manners in Caubul, that these avowed robbers should come up and ask for a present; and that Moosa Khaun, in his rich dress and golden arms, should sit almost unattended in the midst of their matchlocks, and refuse them. We were now entered on the plain of Peshawer, over which we continued to march till three in the afternoon, when we encamped at the village of Budabeer, six miles from the city.

Though I do not intend to touch on my negotiations, it will elucidate my intercourse with the people at Peshawer, to state the manner in which the mission was regarded at Court. The news of its arrival reached the King while on his way from Candahar, and its object was at first regarded with strong prejudice and distrust. The King of Caubul had always been the resource of all the disaffected in India. To him Tippoo Sultaun, Vizeer Ally, and all other Mahommedans, who had a quarrel either with us or the Marattas, had long been in the habit of addressing their complaints; and, in later times, Holcar himself, a Maratta, had sent an embassy to solicit assistance against us. Runjeet Sing, the Raja, or, as he calls himself, the King, of the Punjaub, took a great alarm

at the opening of a communication between two powers whom he looked on as his natural enemies, and did all he could to convince the Court of Caubul of the dangerous nature of our designs. The Haukims of Leia, of Moultaun, and of Sind, (each imagining that the embassy could have no other object but to procure the session of his particular province,) did what they could to thwart its success; and, at the same time, the Dooraunee Lords were averse to an alliance which might strengthen the King, to the detriment of the aristocracy; and the King himself thought it very natural that we should profit by the internal dissensions of a neighbouring kingdom, and endeavour to annex it to our empire. The exaggerated reports he received of the splendour of the embassy, and of the sumptuous presents by which it was accompanied, seem more than any thing to have determined the King to admit the mission, and to give it an honourable reception. When the nature of the embassy became known, the King, without laying aside his distrust, appears to have entertained a hope that he might derive greater advantage from it than he had at first adverted to; and it then became an object with each of the ministers to obtain the conduct of the negotiations.

There were two parties in the Court, one headed by Akram Khaun, a great Dooraunee lord, the actual prime minister; and the other, composed of the Persian ministers, who, being about the King's person, and entirely dependent on his favour, possessed a secret influence, which they often employed in opposition to Akram Khaun: the chief of these was Meer Abool Hussun Khaun. This last party obtained the

earliest information about the embassy, and managed to secure the Mehmandauree; but it was still undetermined who would be entrusted with the negotiation. The Persians took pains to convince me that the King was jealous of Akram Khaun and the great Doraunees, and wished to treat with us through his personal and confidential agents; and Akram sent me a message by an adherent of his own, to say that he wished me well, and desired to be employed in my negotiations, but that if I left him out, I must not complain if he did all in his power to cross me. From that time his conduct was uniformly and zealously friendly, nor did he expect that any reserve should be maintained with the opposite party, a circumstance in his character that prevented much embarrassment. He had however marched for Cashmeer when I arrived, and to this I attribute many altercations to which I was at first exposed.

On the morning of the 25th, after some confusion about the mode of our reception, we made our entry into Peshawer. There was a great crowd all the way. The banks on each side of the road were covered with people, and many climbed up trees to see us pass. The crowd increased as we approached the city, but we were put to no inconvenience by it, as the King's horse, that had come out to meet us, charged the mob vigorously, and used their whips without the least compunction. One man attracted particular notice; he wore a high red cap, of a conical shape, with some folds of cloth round the bottom, and a white plume; he had a short jacket of skin, black pantaloons, and brown boots; he was an uncommonly fine figure, tall and thin, with swelling

muscles, a high nose, and an animated countenance: he was mounted on a very fine grey horse, and rode with long stirrups and very well. He carried a long spear, without a head, with which he charged the mob at speed, shouting with a loud and deep voice. He not only dispersed the mob, but rode at grave people sitting on terraces with the greatest fury, and kept all clear wherever he went. His name was Russool Dewauneh, or Russool the Mad. He was well known for a good and brave soldier; but an irregular and unsettled person. He afterwards was in great favour with most of the mission, and was equipped in an English helmet and cavalry uniform, which well became him. By the time we had entered the town, the roads were so narrow that our progress became very slow, and we had time to hear the remarks of the spectators, which were expressive of wonder at the procession, and of good will towards us; but the crowd and bustle were too great to admit of any distinct observations. At length we reached the house prepared for us, and were ushered into an apartment spread with carpets and felts for sitting on. Here we were seated on the ground in the Persian manner, and trays of sweetmeats were placed before us. They consisted of sugared almonds, and there was a loaf of sugar for making sherbet in the midst of each tray. Soon after, our conductors observed that we required rest, and withdrew.

We had now time to examine our lodging, which had been built by the King's Aubdaur Baushee (chief butler), not very long before he went into rebellion. It was large, and though quite unfinished, it was a much more convenient house than could have been

expected at a town which is not the fixed residence of the court, and where many of the principal nobility were forced, during their stay, to put up with very mean dwellings. The whole of our premises consisted of a square, enclosed by a rampart of earth, or unburned brick, within which was another square enclosed by high walls. The space between the walls and the rampart was divided into many courts; in one of which was a little garden, where there were small trees, rose bushes, stock gilliflowers, and other flowers. The inner square was divided by a high wall into two courts, and at one end of each was a house, containing two large halls of the whole height of the building; on each side of the halls were many smaller rooms in two stories, some of which looked into the halls. One of the courts contained no other building; but the three remaining sides of the other court were occupied by apartments. All the windows in this last court were furnished with sashes of open wood-work, which, while they admitted the air and light, prevented the room from being seen into from without; and there were fire-places in several of the rooms in both courts. What struck us most was the cellars, intended for a retreat from the heats of summer. There was one under each house: one was only a spacious and handsome hall of burned brick and mortar; but the other was exactly of the same plan and dimensions as the house itself, with the same halls, and the same apartments in two stories, as above ground. The whole of this subterraneous mansion was lighted by broad, but low windows near the top. The one I am speaking of was unfinished; but when complete, the cellars are painted and furnished in the

same manner as the rooms above, and have generally a fountain in the middle of the hall. These apartments are called Zeerzemeenes, and Tehkhaunehs. Even the poor at Peshawer have them under their houses, but they are not required in the temperate climates further west. I always sat in mine in the hot weather, and found it equally agreeable and wholesome.

On the day of our arrival our dinner was composed of the dishes sent us by the King, which we found excellent. Afterwards, we had always our English meals ; but the King continued to send breakfast, luncheon, and dinner for ourselves, with provisions for two thousand persons, (a number exceeding that of the embassy), and two hundred horses, besides elephants, &c., nor was it without great difficulty that I prevailed on his Majesty, at the end of a month, to dispense with this expensive proof of his hospitality.

I received visits after my arrival from many persons of rank, who came on the King's part or their own. I had much intercourse with Sheer Mahomed Khaun, the brother of Akram Khaun, and Meerzauee Khaun, the Dewaun of the same minister, who had both been left on purpose to receive the mission ; I also saw a good deal of Mehmandaur, Meer Abool Hussun Khaun, a Persian, whose family had long been settled in Caubul, and who had himself risen from the humble rank of a private soldier (report said even from that of a tailor), to be Sundookdaur Baushee (keeper of the wardrobe), Kooler Aghassee (commander of the guards), and governor of Peshawer. He had a very fair complexion and red

cheeks, but his person was small, his voice feeble, and his manner timid, so that our first impression of him was unfavourable: he, nevertheless, turned out to be one of the best of his nation, and to have a degree of simplicity about him seldom met with in a Persian.

The first week after our arrival past without our being introduced to the King, in consequence of a dispute about the forms of our presentation. The common forms of the court, though the ministers alleged that they had been conformed to by ambassadors from the Kings of Persia and Uzbek Tartary, and even by the brother of the latter monarch, appeared to us a little unreasonable. The ambassador to be introduced is brought into a court by two officers, who hold him firmly by the arms. On coming in sight of the King, who appears at a high window, the ambassador is made to run forward for a certain distance, when he stops for a moment, and prays for the King. He is then made to run forward again, and prays once more; and, after another run, the King calls out, "Khellut," (a dress,) which is followed by the Turkish word, "Getsheen," (begone,) from an officer of state, and the unfortunate ambassador is made to run out of the court, and sees no more of the King, unless he is summoned to a private audience to his Majesty's closet.

Everything, however, was in the end adjusted, and on the morning of the 5th of March we set out in procession for the palace. We passed for about three quarters of a mile through the streets, which, as well as the windows and roofs of the houses, were crowded with spectators. At length, we reached an open space under the palace, or castle, in which the

King resides: this space was filled with people, who covered the side of the hill on which the castle stands, like the audience at a theatre. When we reached the gate over which the King's band was playing, we were requested to leave the greater part of our attendants behind; and here our drums and trumpets were required to cease playing. Some time after we entered this gateway we dismounted, and, after walking about one hundred yards, we ascended a flight of steps, and entered a long narrow room, where about one hundred and fifty persons were seated in great order along the walls. This was called the Kishik Khauneh, or guard-room. It had never been handsome, and was now out of repair. It was spread with carpets and felts. We were led straight up to the head of the room, where several men, richly dressed, rose as we approached, and we were received by a fair and portly personage, whom I afterwards understood to be the King's Imaum, and the head of the religious establishment. He bowed as I came up, took my hands between his, and placed me by him; after which he went through the usual forms of welcome and inquiries. Opposite to me were many of the chief lords of the court, some of whom had their caps ornamented with jewels, and surmounted by plumes; lower down were many persons, some like Persians, and some like Dooraunees; and still lower were some of the chiefs of the hill tribes near Peshawer; at the bottom were several persons in the strange fanciful caps which are employed to distinguish the officers of the household. They are generally black and red; but their variety and their whimsical shapes baffle all description:

little taste is displayed in them, and the effect is not good.

The Imaum was a ruddy, good-humoured looking man, about forty, dressed in a shawl mantle lined with fur, and in all respects like a layman. He however soon cleared up his character by beginning a discourse on religion. He inquired respecting the different sects among Christians, and explained those of his own religion. A good-looking and well-dressed man, who sat on the opposite side of the room at some distance, then inquired into the state of learning in England, the number of universities, and the sciences taught at those seminaries; when these questions were answered, the same person desired an explanation of our astronomical system; but at this time the Chaous Baushee entered, and called out some words, on which all present, except Meer Abool Hussun and his son, rose and followed him. We had before this, more than once, heard a noise like a charge of cavalry, which was occasioned by the iron-heeled boots of the guards and others; who were introduced by divisions to salute the King, and who retired at a run after the ceremony was over.

We were now left for some time in the Kishik Khauneh, during which Meer Abool Hussun conversed with us, and discovered a most extraordinary ignorance of every thing concerning us. He had at first thought that Calcutta was in England, and now discovered his belief that the gentlemen of the embassy were born in India, though of English parents. At length the Chaous Baushee came to us: he had been labouring hard at a list of our names, and gave it up with the appearance of extreme vexation, in

despair of mastering such a collection of strange words. He now explained the ceremonies to be observed in a very courteous manner, and then entreated us severally to whisper our names to him when he should touch us. He then conducted us up a sloping passage, and through a gate, after which we passed behind a sort of skreen, and suddenly issued into a large court, at the upper end of which we saw the King in an elevated building.

The court was oblong, and had high walls, painted with the figures of cypresses. In the middle was a pond and fountains. The walls on each side were lined with the King's guards three deep, and at various places in the court stood the officers of state, at different distances from the King, according to their degree. At the end of the court was a high building, the lower story of which was a solid wall, ornamented with false arches, but without doors or windows; over this was another story, the roof of which was supported by pillars and Moorish arches, highly ornamented. In the centre arch sat the King, on a very large throne of gold or gilding. His appearance was magnificent and royal: his crown and all his dress were one blaze of jewels. He was elevated above the heads of the eunuchs who surrounded his throne, and who were the only persons in the large hall where he sat: all was silent and motionless. On coming in sight of the King, we all pulled off our hats and made a low bow; we then held up our hands towards heaven, as if praying for the King, and afterwards advanced to the fountain, where the Chaous Baushee repeated our names, without any title or addition of respect, ending, "They have come from

Europe as ambassadors to your Majesty. May your misfortunes be turned upon me."* The King answered in a loud and sonorous voice, "They are welcome;" on which we prayed for him again, and repeated the ceremony once more, when he ordered us dresses of honour. After this, some officer of the court called out something in Turkish, on which a division of the soldiers on each side filed off, and ran out of the court, with the usual noise of their boots on the pavement, accompanied by the clashing of their armour. The call was twice repeated, and at each call a division of troops ran off: at the fourth, the Khauns ran off also, with the exception of a certain number, who were now ordered to come forward. The King, in the mean time, rose majestically from his throne, descended the steps, leaning on two eunuchs, and withdrew from our sight. The Khauns who were summoned ran on as usual, while we walked on to the foot of a staircase, covered with a very rich carpet. We paused here till the Khauns had run up and were arranged; after which we ascended and entered the hall, where the King was now seated on a low throne opposite the door. We stood in a line, while the King of Caubul asked after the health of his Majesty and the Governor-general, inquired into the length of our journey, and expressed his wish that the friendship betwixt his nation and ours might be increased; to all which I made very brief replies. The gentlemen of the embassy now retired, leaving me and Mr. Strachey, who were desired to seat ourselves near his Majesty. The Imaum and the Moonshee Baushee (or

* Some form of prayer like this is always used on addressing the King. It corresponds to the "O king, live for ever," of the ancient Persians.

head secretary) stood near us, and the other Khauns stood along one side of the hall. The Governor-general's Persian letter was now opened, and read with striking distinctness and elegance by the Moonshee Baushee; and the King made a suitable answer, declaring his friendship for the English nation, his desire of an intimate alliance, and his readiness to pay the utmost attention to any communication with which I might be charged. After I had replied, his Majesty changed the subject to inquiries respecting our journey, and questions about our native country. When he understood that the climate and productions of England greatly resembled those of Caubul, he said the two kingdoms were made by nature to be united, and renewed his professions of friendship. I then inquired whether it was his Majesty's pleasure to enter on business at that time? To which he replied, that I might consult my own convenience respecting the time, and might communicate with his ministers, or with himself, as I chose. I then explained the objects of my mission at length; to which his Majesty made a very friendly and judicious reply, and soon after I withdrew. The King of Caubul was a handsome man, about thirty years of age, of an olive complexion, with a thick black beard. The expression of his countenance was dignified and pleasing, his voice clear, and his address princely. We thought at first that he had on armour of jewels; but, on close inspection, we found this to be a mistake, and his real dress to consist of a green tunic, with large flowers in gold and precious stones, over which were a large breastplate of diamonds, shaped like two flattened fleur de lis, an ornament of the same kind on each

thigh, large emerald bracelets on the arms (above the elbow), and many other jewels in different places. In one of the bracelets was the Cohi Noor, known to be one of the largest diamonds in the world.* There were also some strings of very large pearls, put on like cross-belts, but loose. The crown was about nine inches high, not ornamented with jewels, as European crowns are, but, to appearance, entirely formed of those precious materials. It seemed to be radiated like ancient crowns, and behind the rays appeared peaks of purple velvet: some small branches with pendants seemed to project from the crown; but the whole was so complicated and so dazzling, that it was difficult to understand, and impossible to describe. The throne was covered with a cloth adorned with pearls, on which lay a sword and a small mace set with jewels. The room was open all round. The centre was supported by four high pillars, in the midst of which was a marble fountain. The floor was covered with the richest carpets, and round the edges were slips of silk embroidered with gold, for the Khauns to stand on. The view from the hall was beautiful. Immediately below was an extensive garden, full of cypresses and other trees, and beyond was a plain of the richest verdure; here and there were pieces of water and shining streams, and the whole was bounded by mountains, some dark, and others covered with snow. When I left the King, I was reconducted to the Kishik Khauneh, where all the gentlemen of the mission received rich dresses of honour. In the above description I have chiefly confined myself to what was splendid in the ceremony. I must, how-

* See a print of it in Tavernier's Travels.

ever, mention, before I conclude, that although some things (the appearance of the King in particular) exceeded my expectations, others fell far short of them, and all bore less the appearance of a state in prosperity than of a splendid monarchy in decay.*

Such is the public ceremonial of the Court of Caubul. I had afterwards an opportunity of seeing the forms observed by the King in more familiar intercourse. His Majesty had expressed a desire to see Mr. Strachey and me in private, in an apartment belonging to the Seraglio; and, as this was not a place to which strangers were usually admitted, we were requested to come slightly attended, and in the night. Accordingly we were conducted by the son of our Mehmandaur to the side of the Balla Hissaur, opposite to that where our public reception took place. When we reached the foot of the hill, we left the few attendants that had accompanied us, and clambered up with some difficulty to a narrow flight of steps, which our conductor could scarcely find in the extreme darkness of the night. At the head of these steps, a small door opened into the castle; and we found a guard of Indians, dressed like English Sepoys,

* Our presents for the King were carried into the palace while we were in the Kishik Khauneh. Nothing could exceed the meanness and rapacity of the officers who received charge of them. They kept the camels on which some of them were sent, and even seized four riding camels which had entered the palace by mistake. They stripped the elephant-drivers of their livery, and gravely insisted that two English servants, who were sent to put up the lustres, were part of the present. Of all the presents made to him, the King was most pleased with a pair of magnificent pistols (which had been made for the Grand Signior), and with an organ. He had taken notice of our silk stockings, and sent a message desiring that some might be given to him, and with them also he was much pleased.

a sight which we never saw again. We were then conducted in silence through various courts filled with guards, and up several flights of steps scarcely lighted, till we came to a small lobby almost dark, at the foot of a long and narrow staircase. Here we found a few persons, among whom was Meer Abool Hussun Khaun, some sitting, and some standing, like servants in their master's lobby. After some time, a man, very richly dressed, came to summon us to the King. We ascended the narrow staircase, entered a small room, neatly painted, and spread with a very fine silken carpet, and went on through several rooms of the same kind, and through several passages. The doors of all were closed by curtains of embroidered silk or brocade. All the rooms were badly lighted, and all were empty but one, where the King's calleaunchee sat in a niche in the wall. At length, on raising a curtain, we discovered a room well lighted up, where the King was seated. It was a small, but very neat and comfortable apartment, with a recess or bow window, a few inches higher than the rest of the room, from which it was divided by two or three painted pillars. The King sat back in the middle of the recess, and a eunuch stood in each of its six corners with his hands crossed before him. We sat in the lower part of the room, close to the pillars. The Imaum stood by us, and Meer Abool Hussun, with three other persons, stood behind us against the wall. The King wore a mantle of shawl, embroidered with gold, which had a very handsome border wrought with jewels. His crown was quite different from that we first saw: it was a high red cap, round the bottom of which was a broad border of jewels, fixed on black

velvet, with a magnificent ornament in front; from this border rose two narrow arches of gold and jewels, which crossed each other, like those of an European crown. The whole had a fine effect. On entering, we made a bow and sat down. The King welcomed us, and said he had sent for us that we might converse without reserve. He afterwards expressed his hope that we did not find our residence at Peshawer unpleasant, and his regret that he was not at Caubul when we arrived. He said something in favour of that country, which was taken up by the Imaum, who enlarged on its beauties, and then enumerated every province in his Majesty's extended dominions, praising and magnifying each, but giving Caubul the preference over them all. The King smiled at the Imaum's harangue, and said it showed his partiality for his native country. He then said he hoped we should see Caubul and all his territories, which were now to be considered as our own. He then made some inquiries respecting the places I had seen; after which, he told Mr. Strachey, he understood he had been in Persia, and asked him some questions respecting that country. During this conversation a eunuch brought in his Majesty's calleaun. I never saw any thing more magnificent: it was of gold, enamelled, and richly set with jewels. The part where the tobacco was placed, was in the shape of a peacock, about the size of a pigeon, with plumage of jewels and enamel. It was late at night when the Imaum gave us a hint to withdraw. We were let out as we came in; and returned through the town, which was now quiet and silent. This interview with the Shauh, made a very favourable impression on us. It will scarcely be believed of

an Eastern monarch, how much he had the manners of a gentleman, or how well he preserved his dignity, while he seemed only anxious to please.

Till our presentation to the King was over, none of the gentlemen of the mission went out, except once to an entertainment; but after that time we generally rode about the country for some hours in the mornings and evenings; and, as we also went to different parts of the town to wait on the great men who had visited me, we soon became well acquainted with Peshawer and its environs.

The plain, in which the city is situated, is nearly circular, and about thirty-five miles in diameter. Except for a small space on the East, it is surrounded with mountains, of which the range of the Indian Caucasus on the north, and the Peak of Suffaidcoh on the south-west, are the most conspicuous. The northern part is divided by three branches of the Caubul river, which unite before they leave the plain. It is also watered by the rivulets of Barra and Budina, which flow from the mountains to the river of Caubul.

When we entered Peshawer in March, the upper parts of the mountains around were covered with snow, while the plain was clothed with the richest verdure, and the climate was delicious. Most of the trees were then bare, but enough were in leaf to give richness and variety to the prospect; and, in the course of a fortnight, the numerous gardens and scattered trees were covered with new foliage, which had a freshness and brilliancy never seen in the perpetual summer of India. Many streams ran through the plain. Their banks were fringed with willows and tamarisks. The orchards scattered over the country,

contained a profusion of plum, peach, apple, pear, quince, and pomegranate trees, which afforded a greater display of blossom than I ever before witnessed ; and the uncultivated parts of the land were covered with a thick elastic sod, that perhaps never was equalled but in England. The greater part of the plain was highly cultivated, and irrigated by many water-courses and canals. Never was a spot of the same extent better peopled. From one height, Lieutenant Macartney took the bearings of thirty-two villages, all within a circuit of four miles. The villages were generally large, and remarkably clean and neat, and almost all set off with trees. There were little bridges of masonry over the streams, each of which had two small towers for ornament at each end. The greater part of the trees on the plain were mulberries, or other fruit trees. Except a few picturesque groups of dates, the only tall trees were the Ficus Religiosa or peepul, and the tamarisk, which last grows here to the height of thirty or forty feet. Its leaves, being like those of the cypress, and very thick, the groves composed of it are extremely dark and gloomy. The town of Peshawer itself stands on an uneven surface. It is upwards of five miles round, and contains about 100,000 inhabitants. The houses are built of brick (generally unburnt), in wooden frames : they are commonly three stories high, and the lower story is generally occupied by shops. The streets are narrow, as might be expected, where no wheeled carriages are used : they are paved, but the pavement sloping down to the kennel, which is in the middle, they are slippery, and inconvenient. Two or three brooks run through different parts of the town ; and, even there, are skirted with willows and mul-

berry trees. They are crossed by bridges, none of which, however, are in the least remarkable.

There are many mosques in the town; but none of them, or of the other public buildings, deserve notice, except the Balla Hissaur, and the fine Caravansera. The Balla Hissaur is a castle of no strength, on a hill, north of the town: it contains some fine halls, commands a romantic prospect, and is adorned with some very pleasing and spacious gardens; but, as it is only the occasional residence of the King, it is now much neglected. On the north it presents a commanding aspect; but, a view of it from the side nearest the town, discloses strong signs of weakness and decay. Some of the palaces of the great are splendid, but few of the nobility have houses here..

The inhabitants of Peshawer are of Indian origin, but speak Pushtoo as well as Hindkee. There are, however, many other inhabitants of all nations; and the concourse is increased during the King's visits to Peshawer. We had many opportunities of observing this assemblage in returning from our morning rides; and its effect was heightened by the stillness and solitude of the streets, at the early hour at which we used to set out. A little before sunrise, people began to assemble at the mosques to their morning devotions. After the hour of prayer, some few appeared sweeping the streets before their doors, and some great men were to be seen going to their early attendance at Court. They were always on horseback, preceded by from ten to twelve servants on foot who walked pretty fast, but in perfect order and silence; nothing was heard but the sound of their feet. But when we returned, the streets were crowded with men of all nations and

languages, in every variety of dress and appearance. The shops were all open. Dried fruits, and nuts, bread, meat, boots, shoes, saddlery, bales of cloth, hardware, ready-made clothes, and posteens, books, &c. were either displayed in tiers in front of the shops, or hung up on hooks from the roof. Amongst the handsomest shops were the fruiterers' (where apples, melons, plums, and even oranges, though these are rare at Peshawer, were mixed in piles with some of the Indian fruits) ; and the cook-shops, where every thing was served in earthen dishes, painted and glazed so as to look like china. In the streets were people crying greens, curds, &c., and men carrying water in leathern bags at their backs, and announcing their commodity by beating on a brazen cup, in which they give a draught to a passenger for a trifling piece of money. With these were mixed people of the town in white turbans, some in large white, or dark blue frocks, and others in sheep-skin cloaks ; Persians, and Afghauns, in brown woollen tunics, or flowing mantles, and caps of black sheep-skin, or coloured silk ; Khyberees, with the straw sandals, and the wild dress, and air of their mountains ; Hindoos, uniting the peculiar features and manners of their own nation to the long beard and the dress of the country ; and Hazaurehs, not more remarkable for their conical caps of skin, with the wool, appearing like a fringe round the edge, and for their broad faces and little eyes, than for their want of the beard, which is the ornament of every other face in the city. Among these, might be discovered a few women, with long white veils, that reach their feet, and some of the King's retinue, in the grotesque caps and fantastic habits which mark the

class to which each belongs. Sometimes a troop of armed horsemen passed, and their appearance was announced by the clatter of their horses' hoofs on the pavement, and by the jingling of their bridles. Sometimes, when the King was going out, the streets were choked with horse and foot, and dromedaries bearing swivels, and large waving red and green flags; and, at all times, loaded dromedaries, or heavy Bactrian camels, covered with shaggy hair, made their way slowly through the streets; and mules, fastened together in circles of eight or ten, were seen off the road, going round and round to cool them after their labour, while their keepers were indulging at an eating-house, or enjoying a smoke of a hired calleaun in the street. Amidst all this throng, we generally passed without any notice, except a salaum alaikum from a passenger, accompanied by a bow, with the hands crossed in front, or an application from a beggar, who would call out for relief from the Feringee Khauns, admonish us that life was short, and the benefit of charity immortal, or remind us that what was little to us was a great deal to him.

It sometimes happened, that we were descried by a boy from a window; and his shout of Ooph Feringee would bring all the women and children in the house to stare at us till we were out of sight.

The roads in the country were seldom very full of people, though they were sometimes enlivened by a group of horsemen going out to forage, and listening to a Pushtoo or Persian song, which was shouted by one of their companions. It was common in the country to meet a man of the lower order with a hawk on his fist, and a pointer at his heels; and we

frequently saw fowlers catching quails among the wheat, after the harvest was far enough advanced. A net was fastened at one corner of the field, two men held each an end of a rope stretched across the opposite corner, and dragged it forward, so as to shake all the wheat, and drive the quails before it into the net, which was dropped as soon as they entered. The numbers caught in this manner are almost incredible.*

Nothing could exceed the civility of the country people. We were often invited into gardens, and we were welcomed in every village by almost every man that saw us. They frequently entreated the gentlemen of the embassy to allow them the honour of being their hosts ; and sometimes would lay hold of their bridles, and not permit them to pass till they had promised to breakfast with them on some future day, and even confirmed the promise by putting their hands between theirs.†

* The passion of all the Afghauns for hunting and hawking is prodigious. The King himself sometimes went out hawking, in the disguise of a common Afghaun, with a falcon on his fist, and accompanied by only one attendant.

† The following account of an entertainment of this sort, which was accepted appeared in the Calcutta newspapers, and is evidently written by some gentleman of the mission.

"The appointed day having arrived, we went to the village, in conformity with our engagement, and were received most kindly by the chief man and his people, in a delightful grove of mulberry trees, skirted on one side by a running stream. Couches, spread with cool mats, were laid out for us, in such numbers, that they formed a large circle, within which the greatest part of the village was assembled. We sat and conversed for about an hour respecting the King, the country, the crops, &c. They invited us to go out and hawk with them ; but it was then too hot for such an amusement. When con-

From the nature of the country, the charms of which were heightened by novelty, and by the expectations we formed of the sights and incidents which we should meet with among so wild and extraordinary a people, it may be supposed that these morning expeditions were pleasing and interesting. Our evening rides were not less delightful, when we went out among the gardens round the city, and admired the richness and repose of the landscape, contrasted with the gloomy magnificence of the surrounding mountains, which were often involved in clouds and tempests, while we enjoyed the quiet and sunshine of the plain. The gardens are usually embellished with buildings, among which the cupolas of Mahommedan tombs make a conspicuous figure. The chief objects of this nature are a lofty and spacious building, which ends in several high towers, and, at a distance, has an appearance of grandeur, which I believe it does not preserve on a nearer view; a garden-house, which has once been splendid,

versation began to flag, the Schoolmaster and Priest of the village, alternately chaunted the verses and odes of Hafiz. The scene was altogether most interesting, novel, and amusing. The Schoolmaster was a wit and a punster, and the Priest not disdaining a jest, they cut continually at each other. When breakfast was ready, we went into the house to eat it. It consisted of excellent pillow and delicious milk, and we made a most hearty meal. We returned to town very much pleased with our entertainment, the place, and the people; having left them, with a promise to return again some morning early to amuse ourselves with their hawks, and to teach them to shoot birds flying. In the course of this visit, I met an old man, who was with Ahmed Shah, at the battle of Panniput. He boasted of having plundered Delhi, Muttra, and Agra. He was ninety-five years of age, could see perfectly, and had still an excellent recollection."

erected by Ali Merdaun Khaun, a Persian nobleman, who has filled the country, from Meshed to Dehli, with monuments of his taste and magnificence; and some considerable tombs and religious edifices, more remarkable from their effect in enlivening the prospects of the groves with which they are surrounded, than for any merit of their own.

The Emperor Bauber speaks in raptures of the country round Peshawer, and paints, in the most glowing colours, the anemonies and other wild flowers that cover the meadows in the neighbourhood. With all my respect for the accuracy of this illustrious author, I must confess I saw nothing to justify his descriptions: but the want of those rich prospects was compensated in our eyes by the dandelion and other weeds which are common in England. I must, however, mention the abundance of roses, which struck me much towards the beginning of summer; at that time, scarcely a beggar or a ragged boy was to be seen, whose hands were not filled with those flowers.

In the gardens, indeed, flowers are abundant, and disposed with considerable taste. A description of one of them that belonged to the King, and is the finest at Peshawer, will give a true, though favourable idea of the rest.

It is called the garden of Shauh Zemaun. Its shape is oblong. Some handsome structures belonging to the Balla Hissaur, form the southern side; and part of the hill on which that castle stands, is included in the garden: the other sides are inclosed with walls. The northern part of the garden, which is cut off from the rest, is laid out irregularly,

and is full of trees. The remainder forms a square, divided by avenues, which cross each other in the middle of the garden. That which runs from east to west, is formed by stately rows of alternate cypresses and planes; and contains three parallel walks, and two long beds of poppies. At the east end of this walk is the entrance; and, at the west, a handsome house, containing a hall and two other apartments. The space from north to south is also bordered by cypresses and planes, beneath which are bushes, planted very thick, of red, white, yellow, and China roses; white and yellow jasmine, flowering cistus, and other flowering shrubs, of which I have seen some in England or India, and others were entirely new to me. At the north end of this opening is a house, such as I have already described. The space between the walks is filled up by six long ponds, close to each other; and so contrived, that the water is continually falling in little cascades from one to another, and ending in a bason in the middle of the garden. In the centre of this bason is a summer-house, two stories high, surrounded by fountains; and there are fountains in a row up the middle of all the ponds: there are sixty-nine fountains altogether, which continued to play during the whole day we spent at the garden, and were extremely agreeable, as the summer was then far advanced. The rest of the garden was filled up with a profusion of the fruit-trees, which I have mentioned, as growing at Peshawer. Some of them were so thick that the sun could not penetrate them at noon, when they afforded a dark, cool, and picturesque retreat. We passed the forenoon either here or in the summer-

house, where we had a luncheon of bread, and plain roast meat, at noon; after which, we retired to one of the houses, which was spread with carpets and felts. Here fruit was brought to us, and we spent our time in reading the numerous Persian verses that were written on the walls: most of them alluded to the instability of fortune, and some were very applicable to the King's actual condition. About three, we went out to walk. The views up the east and west walks were beautiful, and each was closed by high mountains; but that of the space which runs from north to south, far surpassed every thing that I have seen in an Asiatic garden. We stood under the Balla Hissaur, which on this side is very handsome. The fountains were sparkling with the sun, whose rays shone bright on the trees, shrubs, and flowers on one side, and made a fine contrast with the deep shade of the other. The buildings looked rich, light, and suited to a garden. The country beyond was green, and studded with clumps and single trees; and the mountains, which are there very high, gave a fine termination to the prospect; and, being in several ranges, at different distances, displayed the greatest variety of tint and outline. After rambling over the garden, we joined the gentlemen who were appointed to entertain us, whom we found sitting by one of the ponds, and cooling themselves, by steeping their hands in the water. After some conversation with them, we left the garden, a little before sunset.

It would be endless to recount the visits we received, and tedious to mention those we paid. The result of my observations on those occasions, will be

seen in another place. Two of the most remarkable of our ordinary visitors, were Meerza Geraumee Khaun, and Moolla Behramund. The former, who was the son of a Persian nobleman of high rank, had been in India, and had observed our customs with great attention and acuteness. His exile to India, was occasioned by his family's and his own attachment to Shauh Mahmood. He was now enabled to return by the protection of Akram Khaun, and was obliged to steer a cautious course, being still suspected of favouring his former party, to which he was in reality attached. The information he had acquired during his residence in India, was surprising, when it is considered that the division of Europe into nations, is known to few in Afghaunistan, and that none of the events in our European history have been heard of even in India. I had one day been mentioning, to the amazement of some visitors, that there had not been a rebellion in our nation since 1745, and had afterwards alluded to our power at sea: when the rest of the company were gone, Meerza Geraumee told me with a smile, that I had forgot the American war: and then asked seriously the reason why the insurance of ships should be raised so high by the success of the French privateers, when we had so manifest a superiority at sea. This gentleman is now Moonshee Baushee, or secretary of state at Caubul. Moolla Behramund was a man of retired and studious habits, but really a man of genius, and of insatiable thirst for knowledge. Though well versed in metaphysics, and the moral sciences known in his country, his passion was for mathematics, and he was studying Shanscrit (a language of which none

of his countrymen know the name), with a view to discover the treasures of Hindoo learning. We had many other Moollas, some learned, and some worldly, some Deists, others rigid Mahommedans, and some overflowing with the mystical doctrines of the Sofees. We were also entertained by poets, who would come with panegyrics on the Eelchee (ambassador), and other Khoauneenee Fereng (European Khauns) ; and who would follow up those addresses with endless quotations and specimens of their own works. Among our visitors, were also the chiefs of the tribes about Peshawer, some respectable Dooraunee and Persian merchants, the lower class of courtiers, and the agents of the great lords ; most of them were agreeable and conversible people, from whom much local information was to be gained. The general curiosity to see us, the distinction of being received by us, and the hope of profiting by our liberality, indeed brought many more visitors than we could admit, and our gates were always surrounded by numbers of the lower orders, whom it required the vigour of two of the King's Caupoochees, or porters, to keep from forcing an entrance. Among the visits I paid, I must not omit one to a celebrated saint, named Shaikh Ewuz, who was often visited by the King and prime minister, neither of whom ever would be seated in his presence, till repeatedly commanded. I paid my visit to him in his little garden, where I perceived a number of well-dressed people approaching at a distance, and was going to salute them, when somebody close to me bade me welcome, on which I looked, and saw an old man dressed like a labourer, who seemed to have been digging in the garden : this was the

saint, and the others were men of high rank, who stood at a distance from respect: among them was a young man, who was brother to the Queen, and son to Wuffadar Khaun, formerly Vizeer. The Shaikh made us sit down upon the clods which had just been turned up, and began to converse very agreeably on all subjects, except religion: he said he heard the people about Peshawer had been mean enough to importune me for presents, and said that the Afghaun chiefs had become such a set of scoundrels, that he was ashamed of them. He, however, praised the King. He talked readily and fluently, gave himself no airs of a holy man, and showed no affectation, except in lamenting that he had nothing in the house to offer us, and proposing to send to a cook shop for a dinner to entertain us with. There was another celebrated dervise, who declined my visit, saying that he had renounced the world, and was entirely engaged in prayer and meditation. I sent him a large present in money, begging him to give it in charity, and to pray for the King. He peremptorily refused the money, but prayed for the King and for me, and sent a grateful message for my attention.

I have now come to a point in my narrative, where some account of the state of affairs at the court is necessary, to explain my own proceedings.

Shauh Shujah ool Moolk had succeeded to his half brother Shauh Mahmood, who was deposed in consequence of a popular insurrection. He had reigned about six years when I entered his kingdom, and as he had quashed an unexpected rebellion of his own Vizeer about a year before, he was considered as very

firmly established on the throne; and shortly before my arrival, Shauh Mahmood, assisted by Futteh Khaun, head of the clan of Baurikzyes, had made a feeble attempt to recover the crown. The King had, however, succeeded in repressing his first attempt at insurrection in the west, and felt so secure from his designs, that he moved east to Peshawer, whence he immediately despatched Akram Khaun, with all the force he could collect, against Cashmeer, then held by a son of the rebellious Vizeer.

Not long after their march, news arrived of the capture of Candahar by Shauh Mahmood, which at first occasioned some depression, but that was removed by favourable reports from the west. At the same time, news daily arrived of Akram Khaun's successful progress, and all Peshawer was in daily expectation of the fall of Cashmeer, and the return of the army, which would have been attended with the immediate dispersion of the rebels in the west. All these hopes were quashed by intelligence which was received on the 23rd of April, of the entire defeat and destruction of Akram Khaun's army.

That minister had reposed great confidence in Motawullee, the hill chief of Mozufferabad, and had depended on him for supplies and guides; at the same time, his ungovernable pride and avarice led him to offend this very man, in whose hands he had put the safety of his whole army. The effect of these mistakes was soon felt in the want of supplies, but Akram had now arrived at the last pass, which, though defended by a wall and towers, would, probably, have soon been carried, had the assailants been animated by that spirit which has always enabled the needy

armies of the west to force the entrance of this rich valley. Akram, however, lent an ear to the persuasions of Motawullee, who undertook to show him a pass by which he might turn the flank of the enemy's work. Accordingly the army marched off from the front of the entrenchment, and moved up a valley, securing the mountains on each side by parties of Khyberee and Ghiljie infantry. Its march was, however, soon discovered, and its infantry out-numbered and driven in; in addition to which, it was ascertained or rumoured, that the upper part of the valley was choked with impassable snow. Akram Khaun now lost all confidence; he remained for a day in the valley without supplies, and exposed to the fire of the enemy's infantry, which was disheartening to his troops, though too distant to be injurious. This situation produced many desertions, which added to the perfidy of Motawullee, completed Akram's alarm, and, knowing how unpopular he was in the army, he began to fear that he would be seized and delivered to the Chief of Cashmeer, the disgrace and death of whose father he had occasioned. The result was a resolution to fly; and, accordingly, in the course of the night, all the chiefs abandoned the army, and each separately endeavoured to effect his escape through the passes of the mountains. Most of them were plundered by Motawullee's mountaineers, before they passed Mozufferabad; and Akram himself is said to have been surrounded, and only to have escaped by scattering pieces of gold among the plunderers, and flying during the scramble. At length he crossed the Indus, and reached the town of Acora, where he received those who went to meet

him without the smallest abatement of his former pride. The troops, when deserted by their chiefs, for the most part laid down their arms. Some endeavoured to force their way through the hills, but shared the fate of their superiors. Of the whole army, not above two thousand men arrived at Peshawer, dismounted, disarmed, and almost naked. This disaster, great as it was, was exaggerated when first heard of at Peshawer; the whole army was said to be annihilated, Akram Khaun was missing, and Muddud Khaun had deserted. At the same time, authentic intelligence arrived of the advance of Shauh Mahmood, and of the capture of Caubul, to which a report was added, of the immediate advance of the enemy towards Peshawer. Some of the neighbouring tribes who were inclined to Mahmood, were also said to be armed, and ready to start up at a moment's warning: the troops were represented as on the eve of a mutiny, and the King, it was rumoured, had sent off his most valuable jewels, and was about to fly from the city. Certain it is, that for some time there never was a night on which one could be confident that there would not be a revolution before morning. Our anxiety on that head was somewhat augmented by the frank avowal of our Mehmandaur, that in the event of any general confusion, we should be attacked by the Khyberees and other plunderers without delay. Nevertheless the city remained as quiet as on the first day. People talked openly of the state of things, but nobody acted as if a revolution were at hand. This panic at length subsided. The enemy were found to have remained at Caubul, and it was now certain that they were disputing

among themselves: Akram Khaun had also returned, and had begun to assemble the wreck of the Cashmeer army, together with such troops as had been left at Peshawer, or could now be raised. The King's situation, however, was still far from promising. Every thing depended on money, with which he was very ill provided. Many of the chiefs with him could at once have remedied this evil, but few were sufficiently zealous to do so; and even Akram Khaun, who had occasioned most of the King's misfortunes, and who knew that he must stand or fall with his master, was so blinded by his avarice, that he refused to give or lend any part of the large treasures which he had inherited from his father, and amassed himself. The character of this minister was one great cause of the King's weakness. Though so deficient in political courage, even his enemies allowed that he was endowed with the greatest personal bravery, and that he was sincere in his attachments, true to his word, a strict observer of justice, and perfectly direct and open in his dealings; but, on the other hand, he was extremely avaricious, and of a haughty, sullen, and suspicious temper; arrogant and irritable to those around him, difficult of access, and tenacious of respect.

In my own intercourse with him, however, I found him to possess all the good qualities ascribed to him, without any one of the bad. Akram Khaun was a very strong man, upwards of six feet high, with a sullen countenance, and an apparent disposition to taciturnity; this however wore off, and he talked without reserve of his defeat, which he ascribed to treachery in his army, and of all other subjects which were likely to interest. His dress was very simple,

and his manners plain. With Akram Khaun all the Dooraunee Khauns who had been with the army had returned, and I now exchanged visits with them all. I found their society very pleasant; they generally talked of hunting and hawking, horses and arms; asked questions about the climate and productions of England and India, and explained those of their own country: they also sometimes told little anecdotes, or recounted events in which they had been engaged. Presents were always interchanged after the visits. I sent the Dooraunees articles of European or Indian manufacture, and they gave me horses, dogs, and hawks.

Soon after the arrival of these Khauns, and before the first alarm created by the bad news was over, a Hindoo was seized in one of the passes on the way to Caubul, and a report immediately spread through Peshawer, that he was a servant of mine, charged with letters to Shauh Mahmood, begging him to push on to Peshawer, and engaging for the capture of the Balla Hissaur, and the seizure of Shauh Shujah. This story was accompanied by a rumour that the King was on the point of giving up our property to plunder. The whole town was, in consequence, in a ferment; people were running up and down in all directions, getting their arms in order, and lighting their matches, and a great mob soon assembled at our gates. All the gentlemen of the embassy were sitting at this time in the hall, receiving company; but Captain Pitman quietly doubled the guards, and took other measures of defence. In the mean time, Moolla Jaffer and another of our friends arrived in much alarm, and there was a great deal of whisper-

ing and agitation; but when things were at their height, Akram Khaun happened to come in on a visit, and it may be supposed that the crowd did not remain long after.

Nothing else took place that need be mentioned here, except that on the 4th of June, the party of troops with the mission was exercised in honour of his Majesty's birth day. Akram Khaun and many other persons of all ranks were present. The spot was admirably calculated for a small body, being a green plain, confined by hillocks. The Dooraunees were greatly delighted with the exhibition, and even the King viewed it through a telescope from the top of the Balla Hissaur.

During this time, the King was exerting himself to get together an army. Many of the troops who had been taken in Cashmeer, were allowed to return, but half of them were dismounted and disarmed, and the rest were full of gratitude to the governor of Cashmeer. and more inclined to him than to the King. The army, indeed, was generally disaffected; the chiefs were disgusted with Akram Khaun, and the soldiers enraged at their disgraces and disasters, and distressed for want of pay. They scarcely attempted to conceal this disposition, but openly accosted gentlemen of the mission in the streets, abusing Akram Khaun, and not even sparing the King. Akram's weight had indeed declined even with his Majesty, and Abool Hussun Khaun used sometimes to express his hopes of being able to get him removed, and the direction of affairs given to Muddud Khaun. The effect of this change was felt in the King's council, where the opinions of the chiefs of clans were at

all times treated with great attention, but where, at present, nobody had a preponderating influence; consequently, nothing was ever brought to a decision at their debates, which often ended in mutual reproach and recrimination. It was at length determined to march for Caubul, and the King's tents were ordered to move out. A gun was fired at an hour fixed by the Imaum, and at the same time the King's munzil-noomau was erected. This was a kind of obelisk formed by canvass fixed in a particular manner round a pole about thirty feet high, at the top of which was a large silver ball. The canvass itself was red. Its use was to mark the encamping ground. The King's tents were afterwards sent out. The finest was about thirty feet broad, and very long. It was formed of wooden frames, in which were placed canvass panels in compartments of various colours. The roof was pink, and was supported by four poles, each of which had a silver ball at the top. Behind this were many other tents of a smaller size, and the whole was surrounded by a wall of cotton skreens. Two sets of tents like this always accompany the King, and with each is a wooden house two stories high, which one hundred workmen can pitch in an hour. The town was full of bustle; a number of troops were encamped under the Balla Hissaur, and the streets were crowded with horsemen; but the tranquillity of the city was not otherwise disturbed. At length the King moved out to his camp, and as it was not the policy of the British government to take any share in the civil war, it became necessary to fix on a spot to which the mission should retire. All the ministers agreed in representing that Peshawer was an unfit

place to remain in during troubled times: and Akram Khaun, after considering and rejecting a plan for our retiring into the mountains of the Eusofzyes, offered to allow us to occupy the fort of Attock, which would be perfectly safe in all extremities. This was declined, and it was fixed that we should go to the eastern frontier, whither the King's family was also to be sent. This being arranged, we went on the 12th of June to the King's camp to take leave. The streets were more crowded than ever, and we saw many parties of cavalry, and some excellent horses.

The King's tents were pitched in a garden on the banks of a pond, round which was a terrace of masonry. The great tent occupied one side of the pond: on two of the other sides were the Khauns of the court, the greater on the King's right, and the lesser on his left; the fourth side was open, so as to allow of the King's seeing down a street formed by two ranks of guards, which extended from the pond to the principal gate of the garden. We were introduced by a side gate, and led up to the right hand, where we stood with all the great Khauns. While we were there several parties who had come over from the enemy, were successively introduced. They entered by the gate opposite the King's tent, where they were drawn up in a line, their names were announced, and they went through the usual form of praying for the King, after which they retired. At the end of each prayer, the whole of the guards called out Aumeen (Amen). When this was over, we were requested to go up close to the King, accompanied by Akram and Muddud Khaun. The King then addressed me, saying, that we must be unaccustomed to so unsettled a

government as his was at present, and that although he parted with us with reluctance, yet he was unwilling to expose us to the inconvenience of a campaign, and he therefore wished us to retire to some place on the frontier, from which we could either join him, or return to India, as suited our convenience. In the course of the conversation which followed, his Majesty spoke in high terms of the British nation, and hoped he should be able to carry us with him to Candahar and Heraut. When he had concluded, Akram Khaun, Muddud Khaun, and the King's Imaum, severally made speeches addressed to the King, commenting on what his Majesty had said, and enlarging on the justice, good faith, and military reputation of the British, and on the advantages to be derived from an alliance with such a people. At this audience, the King wore a high cap of plain red cloth, with a black velvet band round the bottom. He had no jewels on; a mace, a sword, and a carbine, lay before him on a cushion. Several persons were in the tent with him, fanning him by turns, and among them was Meer Abool Hussun Khaun. The King looked ill and haggard, as if exhausted by the heat, and by anxiety of mind.

On the two next days, we had farewell visits from Akram Khaun and many other persons; and on the 14th, in the evening, we commenced our march for the Indus. The King's affairs were now in a highly prosperous condition. He had equipped a tolerable army, and was ready to move against the enemy, whose dissensions had come to such a pitch, that Futteh Khaun had seized his rival in the midst of the court, and had thus occasioned the defection of two of

the great Dooraunee clans. Accordingly all parties seemed to look forward with certainty to the success of Shauh Shujah's cause, an event which was called for by the prayers of the people, to whom the Shauh's moderation and justice had greatly endeared him.

Our first march was to Chumkuny, a village only four miles from Peshawer. The country was now becoming a little unsettled, and, instead of a few footpads, who used to plunder single men when we first arrived, there were now bands of robbers, who carried off several loaded camels that were going to camp without a guard. The accountant of the mission allowed a mule of his own, loaded with rupees to the value of one thousand pounds, and also with fine shawls, to loiter behind: the mule having thrown the muleteer, and laid him senseless on the ground, ran through the crowd, and shook off its valuable burthen, which was instantly pillaged by the bystanders.

On the 15th we continued our march. The appearance of our line was now much altered by the great proportion of mules and ponies employed in carrying the baggage, by the number of good horses which were to be seen mounted or led, by the use of Persian and Uzbek saddles and bridles, as well as of boots and mantles, among the upper classes of our Indian attendants, and by the number of Peshawerees, and other people who spoke Persian, that now accompanied us in various capacities. A number of persons followed us from the city as far as this day's march, some to show their attention, but more to importune us for presents, of which all the people at Peshawer, except the highest classes, were inordinately greedy. Our march on this day lay through a good deal of wood of tamarisk trees.

On the 16th we left the wood, and marched over an extensive plain of green turf, only varied by the low plant called Jouz by the Afghauns, and Khauree Shooturee by the Persians, and by a plant very common about Peshawer, which much resembles that in English gardens, called Devil in the bush.

We encamped on a very agreeable spot, where a point covered with green sod, and shaded by some trees, projects into the deep, clear, and rapid stream of the Caubul river, here about four hundred yards broad; on the opposite shore is the village of Noushehra. Many Eusofzyes crossed the river to see us. I was much struck on this day with the long duration of the twilight, which, with the length of the day, is novel to a traveller from India; day broke (on the 16th June) at a quarter after three, and the sun did not rise till within ten minutes of five.

Our next march was along the Caubul river to Acora, the principal town of the Khuttuks, where we saw Asoph Khaun, the chief, and many of the principal men of the tribe. Asoph Khaun was a very respectable-looking man, very handsomely dressed, and well attended. The others were mostly elderly men, dressed in dark blue or black, with fair complexions, long beards, and reverend countenances.

The whole of our march had hitherto been between a range of hills on the south and the Caubul river on the north, which had approached each other at Noushehra, so as only to leave room to encamp between them.

On the march of the 18th, which reached to the Indus, the hills came close to the river of Caubul, so that we were obliged to cross them. They belong to

the same range which we passed near Cohaut, and we were reminded that they contained the same inhabitants, by finding Khuttuk guards posted in the pass to protect our baggage from the Kheiberees.

From the top of the pass we saw to the north the Indus, issuing in a vast number of channels from a mass of thick vapour, that scarce allowed us to see the mountains through which it had flowed. It, however, formed but two channels when it reached the hill where we stood, at the foot of which it was joined by the Caubul river. There were numerous rocks at the point of junction, and, as both rivers ran with great impetuosity, the sight and the sound produced by the dashing of their waters were very noble. After this the rivers were collected into one channel, and ran through the mountains in a deep but narrow stream between high banks of perpendicular rock. The fort of Attock was also plainly seen from this ; and on descending, we encamped on a spot opposite to that place.

The Indus was here about two hundred and sixty yards broad, but too deep and rapid to be correctly sounded. Its banks are of black stone, polished by the force of the stream, and by the white sand which it carries along with it, so as to shine like black marble, and always to look as if it were wet.

In the midst are the famous rocks of Jellalleea and Kemalleea ; but the whirlpool, of which we had heard so much, did not rage at the season when we passed.

The fort of Attock stood on a low hillock on the left bank. It is a parallelogram, of which the shortest faces (those parallel to the river) are about four hundred yards long, the others are of twice that length.

The walls are of polished stone, but though the place makes a handsome show, it is commanded by a rough hill, only divided from it by a ravine; and, being on a slope, almost the whole of the interior, and the reverse of the walls on three faces, are visible from the opposite bank. The town, though now decayed, was once very considerable.

The village at which we encamped was a small one, distinguished for a sort of fort, said to be built by Nadir Shauh, and for a fine aqueduct made by some former chiefs of the Khuttuks, to water the neighbouring lands.

Notwithstanding the violence of the stream the boats passed quicker here than at any river we had yet crossed. We also saw many persons crossing, or floating down the river, on the skins of oxen inflated, on which they rode astride, but with most of their bodies in the water. This contrivance is also made use of in the Oxus, and appears to be as ancient as the days of Alexander.*

We crossed on the 20th, passed through the fort, and were welcomed to India by all the Afghauns of our party. We halted for two days at Attock, and were visited by the chiefs of the neighbourhood.

The governor of the province was a respectable Douraunee, with the complexion and dress of Khorassaun; but the people of the country, whether Eusofzyes or Dooraunees, (for many of that tribe have been settled here for seven generations,) had a dress and appearance resembling those of Indians. One man struck me particularly, who belonged to the Kautirs, an Indian tribe, who inhabit the almost in-

* See Arrian.

accessible hills to the south-east of Attock. He was very black, with a long beard; and had the shy look of a savage, without any appearance of ferocity; he had dirty clothes, with a small turban, strangely put on, and clutched his beard as he sat, like the picture of Judas Iscariot in Lavater.

The heat during the last night of our stay at Attock was extreme. A strong hot wind blew all night over the low hills to the south of our camp; and the thermometer was at 96° between three and four in the morning.

From Attock the mission made three marches to Hussun Abdaul. The first was over the plain of Chuch, which was entirely covered with wheat, and nearly flat, except from a hillock here and there, on which was always a village. The other two were through a country which rose into high waves, with deep ravines in the hollows. It was generally dry and uncultivated. The country began to resemble Hindoostan, although a willow was still now and then observed. The people partook of the change; not a villager in a hundred could speak Persian, and the Afghauns had lost the use of the Pushtoo language. They struck me as the rudest and most ignorant people I had yet seen. I was accompanied from Attock by Habeeb Khaun, the chief of Booraun and Hussun Abdaul. He had about one hundred horse, all dressed in the Indian way, with white turbans, white coats of quilted cotton, Indian hilts to their swords, Indian furniture on their horses, and no boots; but they all wore either cuirasses of leather, or shirts of mail, and carried long spears. Their long beards and wild air distinguished them at once from Hindostaunees, and their appearance was altogether peculiar. Amidst all

these signs of India, the valley of Hussun Abdaul recalled to our recollection the country we had left. It had indeed been famous in all ages for its beauty, and had been a favoured resting-place of the great Moguls on their annual migrations to Cashmeer; nor could there have been a scene better fitted for the enjoyment of their easy and luxurious grandeur. The influence of the rains of Hindoostaun, which now began to reach us, had cooled the air, and given it a peculiar softness and pleasantness, which disposed us to a more perfect enjoyment of the beauties of the place. There also was a garden, which resembled, and almost equalled, that of Cohaut. Near this was the tomb of Hussun Abdaul, from which the place is named. It is partly composed of marble, and stands in a square enclosure, within which are two very fine old cypresses of remarkable height. Hussun (whose surname, *Abdaul*, is the Pushtoo for *mad*,) was a famous saint of Candahar, where he is known by the name of Babba Wullee. About two miles off was a royal garden, now gone to decay. There was something melancholy and desolate in every thing about it, which was scarce less impressive than its original splendour. It contained some deep and extensive basins, filled with the pure water of these hills, some ruined buildings (one of which was remarkably elegant); and here we, for the last time, saw the plane-tree, which forms the favourite ornament of all the gardens of the West.

It was at Hussun Abdaul that the mission was to have remained till the fate of the kingdom of Caubul was decided; but before it reached that place, I had received orders to return to the British provinces,

and had announced my recall to the King. It was, however, necessary to await his Majesty's answer, and also to settle with the Siks about a passage through their territories, which, at first, they positively refused. This occasioned a halt of ten days; during which time I was visited by some chiefs of the neighbourhood, and received a letter from the Sultan of the Guckers, accompanied by a vast quantity of grapes, which grow wild in his country. The Guckers are well known for the trouble they used to occasion to the great Moguls. They once possessed the whole country between the Indus and Hydaspes, but have been driven out by the Siks. They have still a high military reputation.

I also received a visit from Moolla Jaffer, who had come with the King's haram to Attock, whence they were to fly to the Sik country, if the King's affairs took an unfavourable turn.

Soon after, I received my answer from the King; and, every thing being settled with the Siks, I was preparing to commence my march, when one night I was surprised to hear that the peesh khauneh, or advanced tents of the haram, had arrived close to camp. This boded no good, and reports were soon circulated that the King had been defeated.

The next day showed a great change in the state of affairs, the report being now generally believed. All the King's partizans were depressed, while some adversaries of his started up where they were little expected.

Moolla Jaffer arrived in the course of this day, and produced a letter from the King; in which he said that his troops had behaved with fidelity, but that he

was defeated; that such and such chiefs were safe; and that no expense was to be spared in conveying the haram to a place of security. It turned out that the army was attacked by a small force under Futteh Khaun, as it was straggling on, mixed with the baggage, after a very long march through the mountains. The King and Akram Khaun were in the rear; but the latter, who had his armour on, rode straight to the scene of action. He had not above one or two hundred men when he set out, and most of these were left behind as he advanced. The day was decided before he arrived; but he, nevertheless, pushed on, and had penetrated to the place where Futteh Khaun was, when he was overpowered and slain, after a very brave resistance. The King fled to the mountains, from whence he soon after issued to take Candahar. That enterprise was also ultimately unsuccessful. He has made two more attempts since then; and has twice taken Peshawer, but is now once more in exile.

On the morning after the bad news (July 4th,) we set out on our march, as had been previously settled; we first went to the camp of the haram to take leave of Meer Abdool Hussun Khaun. The camp contained numerous enclosures of serrapurdahs or canvass skreens, and a vast number of cajawas or camel panniers, in which women travel, and we wandered long through them before we could find the Khaun. He was much less depressed than I had expected; but talked without reserve of the hopelessness of the King's affairs, and of the uncertainty of the reception the haram would meet with from the Siks. We took a melancholy leave: and crossing the hills to the

south of the valley, we quitted the King of Caubul's dominions.

We were received by a party of Siks soon after we passed their frontier; and, from this time, we met with no trace of Dooraunee language or manners among the people. Though pleased with the Siks on the borders, we could not but be struck with the rough manners, the barbarous language, and the naked bodies of the people among whom we were come; nor was it with any partiality that we perceived an increased resemblance to the customs of Hindoostaun. In three marches we reached Rawil Pindee. The country was uncultivated, and much intersected by deep and extensive ravines. In the course of the second march, we passed a ridge of hills, which would have been difficult to cross had not the Mogul Emperors, with their wonted magnificence, cut a road through the solid rock. This road is about three-fourths of a mile long, and paved with great masses of a hard blue stone, well fitted in, and still in good repair,

The town of Rawil Pindee is large and populous. It is a pretty place, is composed of terraced houses, and is very like a town west of the Indus. The country round is open, scattered with single hills, and tolerably cultivated. We halted here six days to get Runjeet Sing's leave to advance. We now saw a good deal of the Siks, whom we found disposed to be civil, and by no means unpleasing. They were manly in their appearance; and were tall and thin, though muscular. They wore little clothes, their legs, half their thighs, and generally their arms and bodies, being bare; but they had often large scarfs,

thrown loosely over one shoulder. Their turbans were not large, but high, and rather flattened in front. Their beards, and the hair on their heads and bodies, are never touched by scissors. They generally carry matchlocks, or bows, the better sort generally bows; and never pay a visit without a fine one in their hand, and an embroidered quiver by their side. They speak Punjaubee, and sometimes attempt Hindostaunee, but I seldom understood them without an interpreter. Persian was quite unknown. They do not know the name of the Dooraunees, though that tribe has often conquered their country. They either call them by the general name of Khorassaunees, or by the erroneous one of Ghiljee. Jewun Sing, the chief of Rawil Pindee, and one of the greatest in the Punjaub, visited me here. He was a plain, civil man, only distinguished from his followers by his decent appearance and manners. His numerous companions and attendants sat down promiscuously in a circle, and seemed all on a footing of equality. A Sik in my service once dined with this Sirdar, and found at least two hundred and fifty guests, all the soldiers in his immediate employ, partaking of his fare every day. When we wished to return his visit, we found that he and all his attendants were drunk; but, about four in the afternoon, he was reported sober, and received us in a little smoky hovel in a small garden, his people in confusion as before. Most of them continued to sit, while he got up to receive us. While we were at Rawil Pindee, the haram overtook us, and with it came Shauh Zemaun. We visited him on the 10th of July, and were not a little interested by the sight of a Monarch,

whose reputation at one time spread so wide both in Persia and India. We found him seated on a plain couch, in a neat, but not a large tent, spread with carpets and felts. We stood opposite to him till he desired us to be seated. His dress was plain; a white mantle, faced with Persian brocade, and a black shawl turban; but his appearance was very kingly. He looked about forty when we saw him. He had a fine face and person. His voice and manner strongly resembled Shauh Shujah's; but he was taller and had a longer, more regular face, and a finer beard. He had by no means the appearance of a blind man: his eyes, though plainly injured, retained black enough to give vivacity to his countenance; and he always turned them towards the person with whom he was conversing. He had, however, some appearance of dejection and melancholy. After we were seated, a long silence ensued, which Shauh Zemaun broke by speaking of his brother's misfortunes, and saying they had prevented his showing us the attention he otherwise would. He then spoke of the state of affairs, and expressed his hopes of a change. He said, such reverses were the common portion of kings; and mentioned the historical accounts of astonishing revolutions in the fortunes of various princes, particularly in that of Tamerlane. Had he gone over all the history of Asia, he could scarcely have discovered a more remarkable instance of the mutability of fortune than he himself presented; blind, dethroned, and exiled, in a country which he had twice subdued.

We marched from Rawil Pindee on the 12th of July, and reached the Hydaspes in ten marches. The

first six were, like those already mentioned, uncultivated country, much cut with deep ravines and torrent-courses, and (like the whole country between the Hydaspes and Indus) pastured on by droves of horses of a very good breed. The part most to the east was better cultivated than the rest. In the first of these marches we crossed the Swan, a large rivulet, which, though only up to our horses' girths, was so rapid as scarcely to be fordable. Several of our camels were swept down by the stream. The last four marches were among hills, interspersed with country like that already described. The high hills on the north were generally concealed by fogs, but sometimes we saw them rising to a great height above the clouds. The whole of our journey across the tract between the Indus and Hydaspes was about one hundred and sixty miles, for which space the country is among the strongest I have ever seen. The difficulty of our passage across it was increased by heavy rain. On one occasion, the rear guard, with some gentlemen of the mission, were cut off from the rest by the swelling of a brook, which had not been a foot deep when they began to cross. It came down with surprising violence, carrying away some loaded camels that were crossing at the time, and rising about ten feet within a minute. Nothing could be grander than this torrent. Such was its force that it ran in waves like the sea, and rose against the bank in a ridge like the surf on the coast of Coromandel.

While in the hilly country, our road sometimes lay through the beds of torrents like this, between moderately high hills, which, though by no means so striking as the passes of the same sort in Afghaunis-

taun, were no less dangerous. In one of these defiles the mission was stopped by a body of Siks, who occupied the hills, and commenced an attack upon us; first, by rolling down large stones, and at last by opening a fire, which was immediately returned. Their fire was at length put a stop to by the interposition of the Siks, who attended the mission on the part of Jewun Sing, unfortunately not till one man had been killed in the valley, and Captain Pitman shot through the arm, while ascending the hill at the head of a party of Sepoys.

The most remarkable sight we met with in this part, and perhaps in the whole of our journey, was an edifice about fifteen miles from Banda, our second march from Rawil Pindee. The heaviness of the rain prevented our marching from that place on the day after we reached it; and as we were near the place which Major Wilford supposes to have been the site of Taxila, a party determined to set out in quest of the ruins of that city. In the course of a circuit of about forty miles, we saw the ruins of some Gucker towns destroyed by the Siks, and those of some others still more ancient, which had suffered the same fate from the Mussulmans. We also saw one or two caravanseras, here called Rabauts; and we heard of an obelisk of a single stone, fifty or sixty feet high, at a place called Rawjee, which was too distant to visit; but we met with no ruins of such antiquity as to have any pretensions to a connexion with Taxila. We, however, at length discovered a remarkable building, which seemed at first to be a cupola, but when approached, was found to be a solid structure on a low artificial mound. The height from the top of the

mound to the top of the building was about seventy feet, and the circumference was found to be one hundred and fifty paces. It was built of large pieces of a hard stone common in the neighbourhood (which appeared to be composed of petrified vegetable matter), mixed with smaller pieces of a sandy stone. The greater part of the outside was cased with the first-mentioned stone, cut quite smooth; and the whole seemed intended to have been thus faced, though it had either been left incomplete, or the casing had fallen down. The plan of the whole could, however, be easily discovered. Some broad steps, (now mostly ruined) led to the base of the pile: round the base is a moulding, on which are pilasters about four feet high, and six feet asunder; these have plain capitals, and support a cornice marked with parallel lines and beadings. The whole of this may be seven or eight feet high, from the uppermost step to the top of the cornice. The building then retires, leaving a ledge of a foot or two broad, from which rises a perpendicular wall about six feet high: about a foot above the ledge is a fillet, formed by stones projecting a very little from the wall, and at the top of the wall is a more projecting cornice, from which the sphere springs. The stones of the facing are about three feet and a half long, and one and a half broad, and are so put in that the ends only are exposed. The top is flat, and on it the foundations of walls are discoverable, inclosing a space of eleven paces long by five broad; a third of this area is cut off by the foundation of a cross wall. There was nothing at all Hindoo in the appearance of this building; most of the party thought it decidedly Grecian. It was indeed as like Grecian

architecture as any building which Europeans, in remote parts of the country, could now construct by the hands of unpractised native builders.*

The natives called it the Tope of Maunicyaula, and said it was built by the gods.†

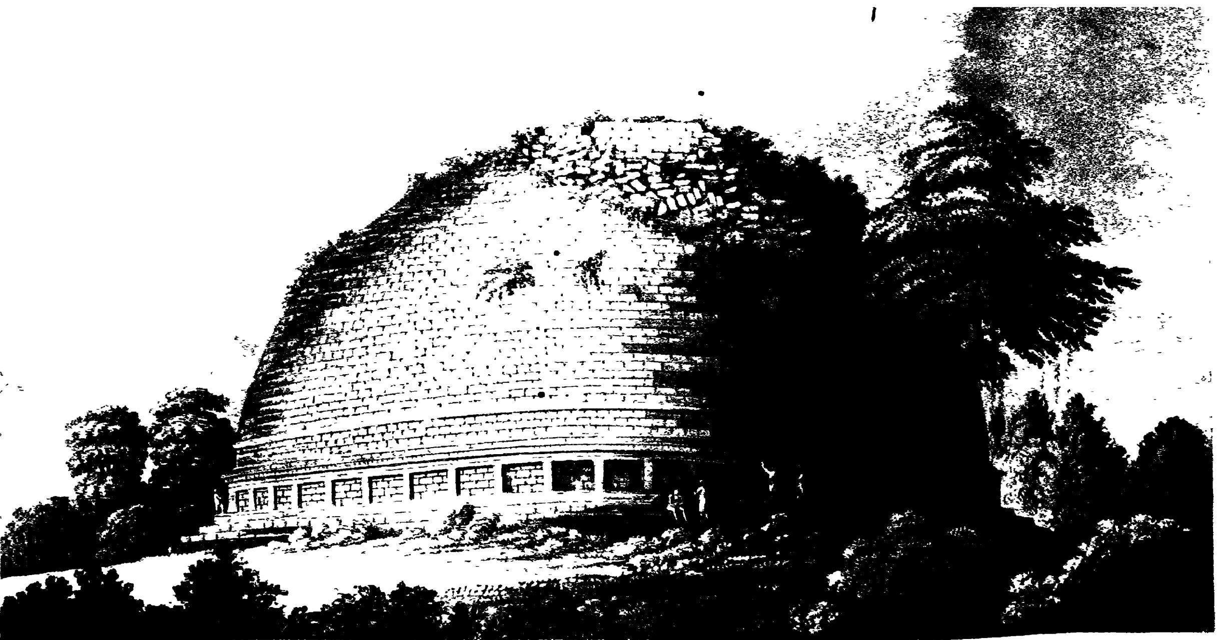
Many bushes and one pretty large banyan tree grow out of the building.

Before we reached the Hydaspes we had a view of the famous fort of Rotas; but it was at a great distance, owing to our having left the main road, and crossed fifteen or sixteen miles lower down than the usual ferry at Jailum. Rotas we understood to be an extensive but strong fort on a low hill.

We crossed the Hydaspes at Jellalpoor in the course

[* Mr. Erskine, in a paper read to the Literary Society of Bombay in 1821, pronounced this building to belong to the worship of Boodh, an opinion which has since been fully substantiated. It was opened in 1830 by the Chevalier Ventura, a general officer in the service of Runjeet Sing, who found it to contain, besides religious relics, many ancient coins of great interest; and the zeal and liberality with which he promulgated his discoveries quickly led to similar investigations in other quarters. By the active and persevering researches of Mr. Masson and Dr. Martin Honisberger, a great number of Topes resembling this one have been discovered in the tract extending between the river of Caubul and Hindoo Coosh, from the Hydaspes to Caubul. The oldest coin found in those buildings of which the date is known is one of the second Triumvirate in the first century before Christ; and the last is of Khoosroo Purveez, in the sixth century after Christ. The construction of the Topes, therefore, was probably within those epochs.—1838.]

† Tope is an expression used for a mound or barrow as far west as Peshawer, and Maunicyaula is the name of an adjoining village. The drawing was made at Poona, under my direction, from sketches made by different gentlemen on the day after our visit to Maunicyaula. In such circumstances, minute accuracy cannot be expected; but the general idea conveyed by the drawing is, I think, correct.



Tope of Manikyala

London Published by Richard Bentley 1839

of five days, from the 22d of July to the 26th inclusive. I was greatly struck with the difference between the banks of this river; the left bank had all the characteristics of the plains of India; it was indeed as flat and as rich as Bengal, which it greatly resembled: the right bank, on the contrary, was formed by the end of the range of salt hills, formerly seen at Callabaugh, and had an air of extreme ruggedness and wildness, that must inspire a fearful presentiment of the country he was entering into the mind of a traveller from the east. The hills still retain the red colour for which they were so remarkable, where we crossed them before. They came to the edge of the river, which being also divided by islands, presents exactly the appearance one expects from the accounts of the ancients. So precisely does Quintus Curtius's description of the scene of Porus's battle correspond with the part of the Hydaspes where we crossed, that several gentlemen of the mission, who read the passage on the spot, were persuaded that it referred to the very place before their eyes.

After passing the Hydaspes, we continued our march across the Punjaub, which occupied from the 26th of July till the 29th of August. My account of this part of the journey need not be long. As far west as Lahore has been visited by English gentlemen; and Sir John Malcolm has already given all that is desirable to know respecting the Siks, the most remarkable part of the population.

The fertility of the Punjaub appears to have been too much extolled by our geographers: except near rivers, no part of it will bear a comparison with the British provinces in Hindoostaun, and still less with

Bengal, which it has been thought to resemble. In the part I passed through, the soil was generally sandy, and by no means rich: the country nearer the hills was said to be better, and that further to the south worse. Of the four divisions of the Punjaub east of the Hydaspes, the two nearest to that river are chiefly pastured on by herds of oxen and buffaloes: and that most to the east, towards the Hysudrus, or Sutledge, though most sterile, is best cultivated. The two former are quite flat; the latter is wavy, but there is not a hill to the east of the Hydaspes, and rarely a tree, except of the dwarfish race of Baubool. On the whole, not a third of the country we saw was cultivated. It, however, contained many fine villages and some large towns, but most of the latter bore strong marks of decay. Umritsir alone, the sacred city of the Siks, and lately the seat of their national councils, appeared to be increasing; on the contrary, Lahore is hastening fast to ruin, but the marble domes and minarets of the mosques, the lofty walls of the fort, the massy terraces of the garden of Shaulimar, the splendid mausoleum of the emperor Jehangeer, and the numberless inferior tombs and places of worship that surround the town, still render it an object of curiosity and admiration.

The inhabitants become more and more like the natives of Hindoostaun as we move towards the east: the most numerous class were the Juts, and next to them the Hindoos: the Siks, though the masters of the country, were few in number; we often made a whole march without seeing one, and they nowhere bore any proportion to the rest of the population. After crossing the Hydaspes, we found the Siks un-

mannerly and sullen, probably from political causes, for they are naturally a merry people, careless, childish, and easily amused, fond of hunting, and given up to drinking and debauchery. Almost the whole of the Punjaub belongs to Runjeet Sing, who in 1805 was but one of many chiefs, but who, when we passed, had acquired the sovereignty of all the Siks in the Punjaub, and was assuming the title of King. Towards the east, his territories are bounded by states under the protection of the British, but on all the other sides he is busied in subjugating his weak neighbours, by the same mixture of force and craft that he so successfully employed against the chiefs of his own nation. On crossing the Sutledge, we reached the British cantonment of Lodeeana, from whence the mission proceeded straight to Dehli, a distance of two hundred miles.

BOOK I.

GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

CHAPTER I.

SITUATION AND BOUNDARIES OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

It is difficult to fix the limits of the kingdom of Caubul. The countries under the sovereignty of the King of Caubul, once extended sixteen degrees in longitude from Sirhind, about one hundred and fifty miles from Dehli to Meshhed, about an equal distance from the Caspian Sea. In breadth they reached from the Oxus to the Persian Gulph, a space including thirteen degrees of latitude, or nine hundred and ten miles.

But this great empire has, of late, suffered a considerable diminution, and the distracted state of the government prevents the King's exercising authority even over several of the countries which are still included in his dominions. In this uncertainty, I shall adopt the test made use of by the Asiatics themselves, and shall consider the King's sovereignty as extending over all the countries in which the Khootba* is read, and the money coined in his name.

* The Khootba is a part of the Mahommedan service, in which the King of the country is prayed for. Inserting a prince's name in the Khootba, and inscribing it on the current coin, are reckoned in the East the most certain acknowledgments of sovereignty.

In this view the present kingdom of Caubul extends from the west of Heraut in longitude 62°, to the eastern boundary of Cashmeer in longitude 77° east, and from the mouth of the Indus, in latitude 24°, to the Oxus in latitude 37° north.

The whole space included between those lines of latitude and longitude, does not belong to the King of Caubul, and it will hereafter appear, that of those which may be considered as annexed to his crown, many owe him but a nominal obedience.

This kingdom is bounded on the east by Hindoostaun, in which it, however, comprehends Cashmeer and the countries on the left bank of the Indus. On the south it may be coarsely said to have the Persian Gulph; and on the west, a desart extends along the whole of the frontiers. Its northern frontier is formed by the mountains of the eastern Caucasus, which are, however, included within the western part of the boundary, there formed by the Oxus.

According to the nomenclature of our latest maps,* it comprehends Afghaunistaun and Segistan, with part of Khorassaun and of Makran; Balk, with Tokarestaun and Kilan; Kuttore, Caubul, Candahar, Sindy, and Cashmeer; together with a portion of Lahore, and the greater part of Moultaun.

The whole population of the kingdom cannot be under fourteen millions. This was the number fixed by one of the gentlemen of the mission, on a calculation of the extent and comparative population of the different provinces. All extensive desarts were excluded; no greater rate of population than one

* Arrowsmith's Asia, 1801.

hundred to the square mile, was allowed to any large tract except Cashmeer, and sometimes (as in the whole country of the Hazaurehs) only eight souls were allowed to the square mile.

The different nations who inhabit the kingdom of Caubul were supposed to contribute to the population in the following proportions:—

Afghauns	4,300,000
* Beloches	1,000,000
* Tartars of all descriptions.	1,200,000
Persians (including Taujiks).	1,500,000
Indians (Cashmeerees, Juts, &c.)	5,700,000
Miscellaneous tribes . .	300,000

The principal part of my account of Caubul, will be occupied by the Afghauns, but I shall first give a sketch of the whole kingdom; and, as the surrounding countries may not be sufficiently familiar to my readers, to enable them to understand the limits of the kingdom, or the frequent allusions to its neighbouring states, I shall begin with a slight account of the part of Asia in which it is situated.

If we traverse the kingdoms of Hindoostaun and Caubul from the east of Bengal to Heraut, we shall find them every where bounded on the north by a chain of mountains which is covered with perpetual snow for almost the whole of that extent, and from which all the great rivers of both countries appear to issue. This chain commences near the Burrampooter, and runs nearly north-west as far as Cashmeer: during this part of its course it is called Hemalleh by the natives of the neighbouring coun-

* I conceive the Beloches and Tartars to be much underrated in this table.

tries. From Cashmeer its general direction is a little to the south-west, as far as the high snowy peak of Hindoo Coosh, nearly north of Caubul. From this peak its height diminishes, it no longer bears perpetual snow, and is soon after lost in a group of mountains, which stretch in length from Caubul almost to Heraut, and occupy more than two degrees of latitude in their breadth. Some ranges issue from this mass on the west, and extend so far into Persia as to justify, if not completely to establish, the opinion of the ancients, which connected the range I have been describing with Mount Caucasus on the west of the Caspian Sea.*

From Cashmeer to Hindoo Coosh, the whole range is known by the name of that peak. From thence to the meridian of Heraut, the mountains have no general name among the natives, and I shall call them by that of Paropamisus,† which is already applied to them by European geographers.

* The following passage in Arrian (book iii. chap. 28,) will show the extent attributed by the Greeks to this mountain. It is introduced when Alexander arrives at the foot of Mount Caucasus, at a point which all geographers have placed in the neighbourhood of Candahar. 'Ο δε ὀρος ὁ Καυκασος υψηλον μεν ἐστιν, &c. &c. "The mountain of Caucasus is said by Aristobulus to be as high as any in Asia, but it is bare in most parts, and particularly in this place. It stretches for a great extent, so that Mount Taurus, which divides Pamphylia from Cilicia, is said to be part of it, as well as other high mountains, distinguished from Caucasus by various names, arising from the different nations to whose country they extend." A more detailed account of this mountain will be found in the same writer, book v. chaps. 3 and 5, and in Pliny's Natural History, book v. chap. 27.

[† I have adopted this application of the name for convenience, although it is not authorized by the ancients. Arrian uses it for the

But although the chain of mountains which I have described, appears from the south to form the natural boundary of Hindoostaun and Caubul, we must look farther north for the ridge that terminates the natural division in which those countries are situated, and contains the remotest sources of their greatest rivers.

Our geographers lay down a range of mountains under the name of Mus Tag, which seems to commence to the north of the eastern extremity of Hemalleh, and to run parallel to that mountain on the north, as far as the sixty-seventh degree of east longitude.

The inquiries made on the Caubul mission, have traced but a small part of the extent of this chain. Lieutenant Macartney could follow it with certainty no farther than from Auksoo to the west of Leh, or Ladauk, but the remaining part of its alleged course is probable, and though I have not access to the proofs of its existence, I have no reason to doubt it; I shall, therefore, take that part of the chain for granted, and include it in the name of Mooz Taugh.*

Though this mountain stands on higher ground than Hindoo Coosh, its height from its base, and perhaps the absolute elevation of its summits, are inferior to those of the latter mountain.

whole range; and Strabo, if he restricts at all, applies it to the part nearest the Indus. Both writers appear to confine *the nation* of the Paropamisadæ to the tract east of Caubul and north of the Caubul river.—1838.]

* This term, which in Turkish signifies ice-hill, is applied to one place in the range at least, where it is occasioned by a glacier near the road from Yarcund to Ladauk. This range, or a particular pass in it, near the road just mentioned, is well known in Toorkistaun by the name of Karrakoorrum.

It is in the southern side of Mooz Taugh that the Indus appears to have its source, and on the opposite side the waters run north into Chinese Toorkistaun.

The slope of the countries on each side of the mountains, is pointed out by the direction of the streams; but on the north, the descent, as far at least as my information goes, is generally gradual and uninterrupted: while, on the south, there is a table-land beneath Mooz Taugh, which is supported by Hemalleh and Hindoo Coosh, and from which the descent is comparatively sudden into the plains of Hindoostaun, and of the north-eastern part of the Caubul dominions.

The medium breadth of this table-land may be about two hundred miles, but I have before said that I have no information about it east of the meridian of Ladauk. The eastern part of it is occupied by the extensive country of Tibet; west of which are Little Tibet and Kaushkaur, mountainous countries of no great extent. To the north-west of the last-mentioned country is the plain of Pamere. Kaushkaur and Pamere are bounded on the west by a range of mountains, which runs from the chain of Mooz Taugh to that of Hindoo Coosh, and which supports the western face of the table-land.

This range, though inferior in height to that of Hindoo Coosh, has snow on its summits throughout the most part of the year, at least as far as its junction with Mooz Taugh. It leaves the range of Hindoo Coosh in longitude 71° east, and runs in a direction to the east of north till it meets Mooz Taugh: a range of mountains running also north and south, is crossed further north by the road from

Kokaun to Cashgar, and may be considered as a continuation of this chain. It is there lower than before; so that it is only in severe seasons that it retains its snow longer than the beginning of summer: a little to the north of this road, it gives rise to the Jaxartes; and beyond this my information ceases. Our maps, however, continue it towards the north till it reaches a range of mountains which divides Chinese Tartary from Siberia, and separates the waters of the former country from those that flow into the Arctic Ocean.

Our maps call the range which runs from Mooz Taugh to Hindoo Coosh, Belur Tag, which is evidently a corruption of the Turkish words *Beloot Taugh*, or Cloudy Mountains; as I know of no general name applied by the people of Toorkistaun to this range, I shall use the term Beloot Taugh for it, on the few occasions I shall have for mentioning it.

Beloot Taugh forms the boundary between the political divisions of Independent Toorkistaun and Chinese Toorkistaun. It also forms these two countries into two natural divisions, since it separates their streams, and gives rise to rivers which water both countries

I know of no branches sent out by Beloot Taugh towards the east. To the west it sends out several branches, which, with the valleys between them, form the hilly countries of Kurrateggeen, Shoghnaun, Wukheeha,* and Durwauz. The most southerly of

[* Or Wukhaun. As "*aun*" and "*ha*" are both plural terminations, the two names must both be formed from "Wukh." Marco Polo calls this country Vokan, and Ebn Haukal calls it Wuksh. [See Marsden's Marco Polo, and Ouseley's Ebn Haukal.—1838.]

them bounds Budukhshaun on the north, as Hindoo Coosh does on the south. I know little of the extent or direction of these branches, but one of them seems to stretch westerly to near Samarcand. These are the principal ranges of mountains north of Hindoo Coosh; but a few words are required respecting the rivers and countries between that range, Beloot Taugh, and the Caspian Sea.

I have already mentioned the source of the Jaxartes. It holds a course to the north of west, till it falls into the lake of Arul.

The Oxus rises in a glacier near Pooshtee Khur, a lofty peak of Beloot Taugh, in the most northerly part of Budukhshaun. Its general course is west as far as the sixty-third degree of longitude, from whence it pursues a north-westerly course, through a desart, to the lake of Arul. The rough country about the source of the Jaxartes, is inhabited by wandering Kirghizzes; but, from the place where it leaves the hills to longitude 66° or 67° east, both banks are occupied by the Uzbek kingdom of Ferghauna, called also Kokaun from the residence of the sovereign. To the west of longitude 66° east, the northern bank is inhabited, first by Kirghizzes, and then by Kuzzauks, both rude and pastoral nations. On the southern bank, to the west of longitude 66° east, is a desart, which extends in a south-westerly direction to the inhabited country of Khorassaun. Its breadth varies, but in latitude 40°, it is seven days' journey broad, and it there separates the Uzbek kingdoms of Orgunge and Bokhaura; the first of which lies on the Caspian, and the other between the Oxus, the desart, and the mountainous countries under Beloot Taugh.

The character of these kingdoms, or at least of Bokhaura, is that of desart, enclosing oases of various size and fertility. All the country west of Beloot Taugh, and north of the Oxus, is called Toorkistaun, a term which may be extended to the east of Beloot Taugh, as far as there is reason to think the Turkish language is spoken; but when I have occasion to speak of that division, I shall call it Chinese Toorkistaun, and the other Toorkistaun alone. The name of Tartary is unknown in those regions.

There remains a tract, between the Oxus and the Paropamisan mountains, which ought to be mentioned with Toorkistaun (as its principal population is Uzbek), though it is a province of Caubul. It has Budukhshaun on the east; and the thinly inhabited country, which joins to its west about Shibbergaun, is included in Khorassaun. The country slopes towards the Oxus. Small as it is, it includes several principalities; and is diversified with hill and plain, marsh and desart. Our geographers commonly call the whole division Bulkh, from the principal city it contains. This name is inaccurate; but* as I know no other general name for the whole tract, I shall continue to apply it to this division, with which I shall close my account of the country north of Hindoo Coosh.

The countries immediately to the south of Hemalleh and Hindoo Coosh are rendered rugged by lower mountains, which run parallel to the great range, and by branches which issue from it. In the hilly regions

* It might perhaps have been preferable to have used the name of Bactria, though that of Bukhtur, from which it is derived, is now out of use, except in books.

thus formed are Assam, Bootaun, Nepaul, Kamaoon, and Sireenuggur; all under Hemalleh. Where the great range turns to the west, these lower mountains are more remote from it, and the high valley of Cashmeer occupies the interval. To the south and south-west of Cashmeer, is a mountainous country, which bounds the Punjaub on the north, and supplies its streams with water; for, of the five rivers which intersect that country, the Hydaspes alone comes through Cashmeer, and has its source in the more remote mountains on the north. This mountainous country is inhabited by different rajas of Indian descent. The plains of the Punjaub, with some trifling exceptions, belong to the Siks; and, from the southern frontier of that country, there extends a sandy desart, almost to the Gulf of Cutch.

This desart, which is about four hundred miles broad from east to west, is in some places entirely uninhabited, and, in others, thinly scattered with villages and cultivation. The greater part, if not the whole of it, is composed of sand-hills, or still more barren plains of hard clay. The edge of it on the north is moderately fertile, and forms the banks of the Acesines. On the east, it runs gradually into the well cultivated parts of India; and on the south, it is separated from the sea by part of the country of Cutch. Its western boundary will appear when I have described the Indus, which divides India from the countries which I am next to sketch.

The Indus issues from the mountains of Hindoo Coosh, in lat. 35° long. 73°; and runs south-south-west to the sea. It forms the natural boundary of Caubul and Hindoostaun, but is in reality included,

during the whole of its course in the provinces or dependencies of the former monarchy. As far as Callabaugh in lat. 33° 7′ it may be said to run through mountains; but, from that point to lat. 29°, it divides a fertile, though ill-cultivated plain; bounded on the east by the desart, and on the west by the mountains of Solimaun. Where the range of Solimaun ends, about lat. 29° north, the plain extends to the westward, and has new boundaries. On the north it has hills, which stretch east and west at right angles to the range of Solimaun. On the west it has the tableland of Kelaut; on the south, the sea; and on the east, the Indus. The part immediately adjoining to the river, is included in the province of Sind (which occupies both banks of the Indus, from lat. 31° north to the sea.) The western part of the plain forms a geographical division, which, in Akbar's time, was called Seeweestaun. It would now be better known by that of Cutchee, or Cutch Gundawa; but, as either of those names would lead to mistakes, I shall adhere to the ancient term. It is a low and hot plain, fertile in many places, but in others destitute of water.

The* range of Solimaun commences nearly to the south of the point where Beloot Taugh is joined to Hindoo Coosh, and is connected with the southern branches of the latter mountain. Its general direction is southerly, as far as lat. 29° north.

It sends three branches to the east, between lat. 34° and lat. 32°, and two of them cross the Indus.

* The natives, as usual, have no name for this range; at least, none that would be every where understood. It is called the Cohee Solimaun, or mountains of Solimaun, in books, though the term is there made to comprehend some of the hills to the west of it.

From its termination in lat. 29° a chain of hills runs nearly west to the table-land of Kelaut.

That table-land is of considerable elevation; and fills up the space between long. 64° east and long. 67° 30′ east, lat. 26° 33′ north and lat. 30° 15′ north. It comprises the provinces of Jallawaun and Sehrawaun, and the district of Kelaut, which, with Seestaun, form the dominions of a Beloche Prince, dependant on Caubul, and are chiefly inhabited by Beloches. The table-land is every where hilly and barren. The highest part of it is towards the north, where Kelaut, the capital of the principality, is situated. A narrow tract of the same level with Seestaun, lies between the foot of this table-land and the sea. On the south-west the table-land has lower hills and plains included in Mekraun, and extending in lat. from 26° north to 28° north. On the north of Mekraun is the Salt Desart, the eastern extremity of which lies under the western rampart of the table-land.

The north-eastern edge of this desart, may be loosely said to lie between the 64th and 65th lines of east longitude, till it reach 30° north, from which latitude it becomes difficult to fix. It, however, encloses the small country of Seestaun, and bounds the Afghaun country up to near Heraut, where a habitable tract commences, and stretches like an isthmus between this desart and that which extends to the Jaxartes. This tract is in some parts hilly, and in others so sandy and arid, that it can scarcely be said to separate the desarts.

The edge of the desart will appear hereafter to be ill defined. In some places it runs into the habitable country; and, on the other hand, the banks of the

Helmund, which flows through part of the desart into the lake of Seestaun, are every where fertilized by that river.

I am now enabled to describe the complicated limits of the country of the Afghauns. On the north, it has Hindoo Coosh, and the Paropamisan range. The Indus is its boundary on the east, as long as that river continues near the hills ; that is, as far as lat. 32° 20′. The plain on the right bank of the Indus, south of lat. 32° 20′, is inhabited by Beloches ; but the chain of Solimaun, with its subordinate ranges, and the country immediately at their base, belongs to the Afghauns. The hills, which have been mentioned as bounding Seestaun on the north, form the southern limits of the country of the Afghauns. The Afghaun country immediately to the north of these mountains, does not at first extend so far west as to reach the table-land of Kelaut ; but it afterwards shoots past it on the north, and reaches to the desart, which is its north-western boundary. It is difficult to render this irregular boundary intelligible ; but it is still more so to give, in a general description, a notion of the countries which it comprehends. They are so various in their level, climate, soil, and productions, that I shall not attempt at present to distinguish them ; but shall only remark, that the whole of Afghaunistaun, west of the range of Solimaun, is a table-land, lying higher than most of the neighbouring countries. Hindoo Coosh, which is its northern bulwark, looks down on the low lands of Bulkh. On the east, it is equally elevated above the still lower plain of the Indus. On the south, it overlooks Seestaun ; and, the deep valley of Bolaun, on the

south-west, runs between it and Belochistaun. On the west, indeed, it slopes gradually down to the desart; and, on the north-west, it loses its appearance of elevation before the Paropamisan mountains. The table-land of Kelaut ought perhaps to be considered as a continuation of that I have just described; but the low country, extending to the desart, and the valley of Bolaun, so nearly divide them, that it will be convenient to treat them as separate. The Afghauns have no general name for their country; but that of Afghaunistaun, which was probably first employed in Persia, is frequently used in books, and is not unknown to the inhabitants of the country to which it applies. I shall, therefore, use it in future to express the country of which I have just described the limits. As much of the Afghaun country as lies to the west of the parallel of Mookkoor, in long. 68° 30′, is included in the celebrated and extensive province of Khorassaun. The remaining part of Khorassaun, (the boundaries of which may be loosely fixed by the Oxus, and the desart through which that river runs, the Salt Desart, and the Caspian Sea,) belongs to Persia. Kermaun is said to have been once included in Khorassaun, as Seestaun frequently is still.

CHAPTER II.

MOUNTAINS OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

I HAVE already described the general course of the great ridge of Hindoo Coosh, and have traced the lower ranges on its southern side as far east as the Indus. I shall now proceed to a particular description of the part which bounds Afghaunistaun on the north.

From the Indus to longitude 71°, it pursues a westerly course; but, from that point, its direction becomes uncertain. To a person viewing it from the south, the snowy ridge appears to make a considerable curve towards him; but our information leaves it doubtful whether it does make such a curve, whether the principal range continues its westerly course, and sends out a branch towards the south, or whether it is crossed by Beloot Taugh, which joins it at the point opposite to the place where the mountain appears to bend.

From the Indus to this curve is the part of these mountains with which I am best acquainted, having seen it for some months from Peshawer; and a particular account of it, may serve to give an idea of the rest of the range.

On entering the plain of Peshawer, on the 24th of February, 1809, four ranges of mountains were dis-

tinctly seen on the north. The lowest range had no snow. The tops of the second were covered with it, as was the third half-way down.

The fourth was the principal range of the Indian Caucasus, which is always covered with snow, is conspicuous from Bactria and the borders of India, and is seen from places far off in Tartary. We first saw these mountains at the distance of one hundred miles; but they would have been visible long before, if the view had not been shut out by the hills through which we travelled.* In appearance, however, they were very near. The ridges and hollows of their sides were clearly discernible; and this distinctness, joined to the softness and transparency which their distance gave them, produced a singular and very pleasing effect.

The snowy range is by no means of equal elevation, being in some places surmounted by peaks of great height and magnitude, which do not taper to a point, but rise at once from their bases with amazing boldness and grandeur.

The stupendous height of these mountains; the magnificence and variety of their lofty summits; the various nations by whom they are seen, and who seem to be brought together by this common object; and the awful and undisturbed solitude which reigns amidst their eternal snows, fill the mind with admiration and astonishment, that no language can express. The height of one of these peaks was taken by Lieutenant Macartney, and appeared to be 20,493 feet. If this measurement be correct, the peaks of

* I have seen the ridge of Imaus (or Hemalleh) at a distance of 150 miles; and, I believe, they were to be seen at 250.

Hindoo Coosh are higher than those of the Andes.* The measurement made by Lieutenant Webb, in the eleventh volume of the Asiatic Researches, gives a still greater height to those of Hemalleh. The height of Hindoo Coosh is undoubtedly very great; since we could perceive no diminution in the snow on any part of the range in the month of June, when the thermometer in the plain of Peshawer was at 113°.

The inferior ranges decrease in height, according to their distance from the principal chain. The tops of the highest are bare; but their sides, and the whole of the lower ranges are well-wooded. Though three lower ranges only are distinguishable when seen from the plain, many more are probably passed before reaching the snowy ridge. There is a plain between the first and second ranges; and it is probable that narrower and more elevated valleys separate the higher ranges, till the increasing roughness of the country makes them scarcely observable; and that the distinction between the ranges, is at length lost in a confused mass of mountains.

* The following is Lieutenant Macartney's account of the operation, which he gives with considerable distrust:) "I took the distance of some of the most remarkable peaks in the ridge, by cross bearings, with the theodolite; and found, at the distance of one hundred miles, the apparent altitude of some was 1° 30′, which gives a perpendicular height of 20,493 feet. But, of course, this could not be positively depended on for so small an angle, and so great a distance. The most trifling error, which might not appear in the correction of the instrument, would here make a great difference. It was, however, so correct, that I have taken the sun's altitude, and the latitude came out within two minutes of the latitude taken with the sextant: and the distance may be depended on, for I had a base line, measured of forty-five miles, which gave a good angle."

There are three branches, which stretch from the great ridge at right angles to the inferior ranges. The first is close to the Indus, and ends at a point opposite Torbaila.

The next, which is called Ailum, and is of considerable height and breadth, is divided from the former by the valley of Boonere. The third is divided from Ailum by the valley of Swaut, into which another valley, called Punjcora, opens from the north-west. The last branch is much broader than either of the others, and extends so far to the south as to join the roots of Suffaid Coh, the most northerly point in the range of Solimaun. Though not high, it is steep and rugged. It is covered with pine forests, and inhabited by the Afghaun tribe of Otmaunkhail. Between it and the southern projection, is the low and hot plain of Bajour.

The lower hills may be imagined from a description of those in the district of Swaut. In that district snow lies on them for four months in the year. Their tops have but few trees, but their sides are covered with forests of pine, oak, and wild olive; lower down are many little valleys, watered by clear and beautiful streams, and enjoying a delicious climate. Their sides afford a profusion of European fruits and flowers, which grow wild in the utmost variety and perfection. The hills bear many pretty sorts of fern and similar plants, with several elegant shrubs, and even the rocks are rendered beautiful by the rich verdure of the mosses with which they are covered. In the midst of the principal valley, is the river of Swaut, watering a rich, though narrow plain, which yields two harvests, and produces most sorts of grain;

on the plain, besides cultivated fruit-trees, are numerous mulberry trees and planes.

The hills of Boonere greatly resemble those of Swaut : they inclose many little valleys, all opening on one great one, which runs south-east, and contains the brook of Burrundoo. These valleys are narrower and worse watered than those of Swaut, and are consequently less fertile.

I have now come to the seeming curve, which is observed from the south of Hindoo Coosh, and which rises over Bajour on the west. That projection, with the nearest parts of Hindoo Coosh, and some of the neighbouring branches, is inhabited by the Seeapoosh Caufirs, a strange and interesting people .

The ascent to their country leads along frightful precipices, and through deep and narrow hollows, where the traveller is exposed to danger by the pieces of rock that roll from the mountains above him, either loosened by rain and wind, or put in motion by the goats and wild animals that browze on the cliffs which overhang the road. The Caufirs inhabit narrow but rich and pleasant spots, producing abundance of grapes, and for the most part surmounted by snowy summits. The country of the Caufirs extends beyond the western angle formed by the curve, and the ridge then pursues its course westward, until it is lost in the Paropamisan mountains.

The hilly tract formed by the inferior ranges is narrow and rugged in this part of the chain, and particularly at the point of the southern projection, where the snowy mountain descends abruptly into the low plain of Jellallabad. When the range resumes its westerly course, the hills at its foot recover their

extent and their character; they then form the Cohistaun, or Highlands of Caubul, a country watered by many streams, and described as even more delightful than Swaut.

The nature of the valleys in this part of the range cannot well be understood until I have described the space into which they all open. This is the valley of the Caubul river, which separates the southern projection of Hindoo Coosh from the mountains of Solimaun, and seems to be a breach in a continued chain once formed by those ridges. The breadth between them is now in some places twenty-five miles.

It is occupied towards the east by hills, which stretch from mountain to mountain, though, from their very inferior height, they cannot be said to preserve the continuity of the range. West of those hills is the plain of Jellallabad, and still farther west the country rises so much, that although Gundamuk be in a valley with respect to the southern projection, or to the hills of Solimaun, it is on a mountain when compared with Jellallabad. The river of Caubul flows through the centre of the space which I have been describing, and into it, as I have already mentioned, all the valleys in this part of Hindoo Coosh open. The first of these to the west of Bajour is Coonner, through which the great river of Kaushkaur runs to join that of Caubul. The climate of the lower part of Coonner is very hot. The upper part terminates in long glens, many of which point north-west towards the high snowy peak of Coond, which is probably the point of the southern projection. Coonner is inhabited by a peculiar people called Deggauns, who will be mentioned hereafter.

At Mundroor, about twenty miles to the west of Coonner, the water of Alingaur joins the Caubul river. It comes down a valley, at the upper part of which two others join, and form a figure like the letter Y; the eastern one is called Alingaur, and the western Alishung. Each of them runs into the mountains for about twenty miles. These valleys, with the plain of Jellallabad and the surrounding mountains, form the district of Lughmaun. Alingaur is a wide valley inhabited by Ghiljies. Its head inclines north-east towards Coond. It produces all sorts of grain, and many glens open into it on the right and left, some of which are only separated by narrow summits from those of Coonner. Alishung is narrower, has fewer glens, and is chiefly inhabited by converted Caufirs.

The short valley of Oozbeen, inhabited by Ghiljies, lies next on the west, after which that of Tugow opens on the river of Caubul, at its junction with that of Punjsheer. Tugow is considerably longer than any of the valleys yet mentioned. The lower part is inhabited by the Saufees (an independent Afghaun tribe, whom I may not have occasion to mention again); but the upper part, which is narrower and less fertile, belongs to Cohistaunee Taujiks.*

The mouths of these valleys are higher in proportion as they are further west; but those of Oozbeen and Tugow are very sensibly elevated above the others, and have the climate of Caubul. For this reason, they are sometimes included in the Cohistaun of Caubul, which, in strictness, only consists of the valleys of Nijrow, Punjsheer, and Ghorebund, with

* This term is applied to all people of Afghaunistaun, whose vernacular language is Persian.

the minor valleys which open into them. Of these, the most remarkable are Sunjun (between Nijrow and Punjsheer), and Doornaumeh, and Sauleh Oolung (between Punjsheer and Ghorebund). South of the Cohistaun is the Cohdaumun, a country formed of little fertile plains among the skirts of Hindoo Coosh.

The Paropamisan chain, which bounds the Cohistaun on the west, extends three hundred and fifty miles from east to west, and two hundred from north to south. The whole of this space is such a maze of mountains as the most intimate knowledge would scarcely enable us to trace; and, though it affords a habitation to the Eimauks and Hazaurehs, it is so difficult of access, and so little frequented, that no precise accounts of its geography are to be obtained.

It would appear, however, that the range of Hindoo Coosh is no longer so lofty as to be conspicuous among the mountains by which it is surrounded, and that no continued line of perpetual snow can any more be traced. The eastern half of this elevated region is inhabited by the Hazaurehs, and is cold, rugged, and barren: the level spots are little cultivated, and the hills are naked and abrupt. The western part, which belongs to the Eimauks, though it has wider valleys, and is better cultivated, is still a wild and poor country. The northern face of these mountains has a sudden descent into the province of Bulkh: their acclivity is less on their other extremities, except perhaps on the west or south-west. On the north-west they seem to sink gradually into the plain which borders on the desart.

The slope of the whole tract is towards the west.

The range of Solimaun commences at the lofty

mountain which has derived the name of Suffaid Coh, or White Mountain, from the snow with which it is always covered.* Suffaid Coh stands to the south of the projection of Hindoo Coosh, and is only separated from it by the valley of the Caubul river, from which it rises with a very steep acclivity. It is connected with Hindoo Coosh by the hills of the Otmaunkhail, and other subordinate ranges extending across the Caubul river, in which they cause numerous rapids, in some places almost amounting to cascades. On these grounds, the range of Solimaun ought, perhaps, to be regarded as a branch of Hindoo Coosh, and even as a continuation of Beloot Taugh; but it will, nevertheless, be convenient to consider it separately. From Suffaid Coh, the highest ridge of the range runs south-south-east, and passes through the Jaujee country near Huryoob, twelve miles south of which it is pierced by the river Koorrum. It then proceeds in a southerly direction, and forms the mountainous country of the Jadrauns, which extends to the southward of latitude 33° north. Thus far the course of the ridge is subject to little doubt. From the Jadraun country its direction, and even its continuity, become more questionable; but as it is certain that high hills, which it takes two days' journeys to pass over, are crossed by travellers from Kauneegoorrum to Oorghoon, we may safely conjecture that this is

* The Afghauns more frequently call this mountain Speenghur than Suffaid Coh. The former has the same meaning in Pushtoo that the latter has in Persian. I may here remark, that as Persian was the language in which I communicated with the Afghauns, I have often made use of Persian words and phrases, where they would have used Pushtoo ones.

the ridge in question, and may presume that the hills which we find still farther south, on the left of the river Gomul, are a continuation of it: certain it is, that from the Jadraun country to the Gomul is a mountainous country, shaded with pine forests, which shelters the wild hill tribe of Vizeeree. From the Gomul the course of the hills again becomes certain, and is continued through the country of the Sheeraunees, and that of the Zmurrees, from whence it extends to latitude 29°, where it seems to end.

The height of the Solimaun range, though much inferior to that of Hindoo Coosh, is still considerable. Its highest part is undoubtedly near its commencement. Suffaid Coh is covered with snow throughout the year, but I believe no other part of the range has snow after the end of spring; some, however, of those as far south as latitude 31°, have snow upon them in winter, which is a proof of no inconsiderable altitude in so low a latitude.

The part inhabited by the Wuzeerees, is probably as much raised above the surrounding country, as that which belongs to the Jadrauns; but its absolute height is inferior, as the country at its base slopes much to the southward. In the southern part of the Wuzeeree country, where this range is passed through by the river Gomul, it is low in both senses; but it rises again in the Sheeraunee country, and forms the lofty mountain of Cussay Ghur, of which the Tukhti Solimaun, or Solomon's Throne, is the highest peak; snow lies on this peak for three months in the year, and on the surrounding mountains for two. The country of the Zmurrees is certainly as high as most parts of the Cussay Ghur, but I have not the means of

judging of the height or character of the range to the southward of this point.

From the southern boundary of Afghaunistaun, as far north as the river Gomul, the descent from the Solimauny range into the low lands on the right bank of the Indus, is deep and sudden: on the opposite side, the descent seems to be as abrupt, though by no means so considerable, the country to the west of the range being more elevated than that on the east.

To the north of the Gomul, both sides of the range become perplexed by the numerous minor hills which it sends out to the east and west; but, as far as I can conjecture, the descent becomes more gradual on the east, as it certainly does on the west; where the plain country rises to meet it, and is perhaps as high to the east of Ghuznee as many parts of the range itself to the south of that point.

There are two minor ranges parallel to the range of Solimaun, which accompany it on its eastern side from the southern borders of Afghaunistaun, as far at least as Rughzee in latitude 32° 20′. The first of these ranges is lower than the principal ridge. The second is still lower, and between it and the first is a country which I imagine is rugged, but cultivated by the Sheeraunees. All of these ranges are pierced by valleys which run from the high country on the west, and send out streams into Damaun; other streams rise in the principal range, and run through valleys which cut the lower ones.

The Solimauny range is described as being composed of a hard black stone. The next range is a red stone equally hard: but the lowest range consists of a friable grey sandstone. The tops of all these moun-

tains are bare ; the sides of the high range are covered with pines, and those of the next with olives and other trees ; the lowest range is entirely bare, except in the hollows, which contain some thickets of brushwood.

I shall now mention the minor hills, which run east and west from the great chain just described. The first that occurs, proceeding from the southward, is a range which seems to commence to the north of Rughz[illegible], and extends to Punniallee.

Thi[illegible] ranch is steep, craggy, and bare, and can scarcely be crossed except in one place, where there is [illegible] each in the hill. It ends in an abrupt cliff, about tw[illegible] ndred feet high, opposite the village of Punni-[illegible] whole length is not above sixty miles, but [illegible]s to be mentioned, as it marks the boundary between the plain of the Indus and the hilly country which I am next to mention.

The next branch, which may be called the Salt Range, shoots out from the south-eastern side of Suffaid Coh, and extends in a south-easterly direction, by the South of Teeree, to Calla-baugh. It there crosses the Indus, stretches across part of the Punjaub, and ends at Jellaulpoor, on the right bank of the Hydaspes. It becomes lower as it gets farther from the mountains of Solimaun. This range is both higher and broader than the last. It abounds in salt, which is dug out in various forms at different places. To the eastward, it yields a rock salt of a brownish colour, which is imported into Hindoostaun, and known by the name of Lahore salt.

The third range, to the northward, extends from the eastern side of Suffaid Coh, straight to the Indus,

which it crosses, but does not reach far beyond its eastern side. As it lies during the whole of its course between the thirty-third and thirty-fourth lines of latitude, I shall call it the Range of 34° north latitude.* It is much higher than any of the other ranges, and, though its valleys are wider, its ridge is more difficult to pass. Like those ranges, it decreases in height as it runs eastward, but as far east as Cohaut, the snow lies on its summits till the spring is far advanced, and a little snow falls in winter even on the parts towards the Indus. The highest parts of it bear pines, and the lower olives.

Between the Range of 34° and the Salt Range, lie some plains and valleys belonging to the tribes of Bungush and Khuttuk. They slope towards the Indus, but are separated from the river by a low range of hills running north and south. In the northern part of the space between the Salt Range and that of Punniallee, the valleys of Dour, Bunnoo, Shutuk, and Esaukhail, descend like steps from the Solimaunee ridge to the Indus. In the southern part of the same space are the hills and valleys of the Murwuts, and the desart valley of Largee, which last is separated from the Indus by a hill about thirty miles long.

These three branches are crossed by low ranges running north and south, two of which may perhaps be considered as continuations of those already mentioned as parallel to the mountains of Solimaun. They divide Dour from Bunnoo, Bunnoo from Esaukhail, and Largee from the Murwut country, which is itself so crossed by different ranges, that it resem-

[* It is called the Teera Range in the Map.—1838.]

bles a network of hills enclosing cultivated plains. None of the intervals between the three great branches are indeed to be considered as uninterrupted valleys; besides the ranges which cross them at right angles, they are roughened, particularly towards the west, by minor projections from the principal chain, none of which, however, are deserving of much notice, even if it were possible to acquire accurate notions regarding them. As the Salt Range, the Range of 34°, and the low ridges which run across the valley of the Caubul, all issue from the eastern side of Suffaid Coh, and gradually diverge from that mountain, the country near the point of their separation is, of course, very mountainous. It is inhabited by four tribes, who are comprehended under the general name of Khyberee.

The branches which issue from the Solimaunee range to the westward, are more difficult to treat of than those I have just mentioned.

I shall, however, give such conjectures as my information has led me to, which, although they will probably not be correct, may be near enough the truth to assist in forming a general idea of the conformation of the country.

The space included between the valley of the Caubul river, the parallel of Ghuznee, the meridian of Caubul, and the Solimaunee range, appears to be a mountainous region, containing some large valleys. I cannot discover by how many branches it is formed, or whether, as is probable, they are crossed by ridges parallel to the principal chain; but the mountains certainly extend nearly to the road from Ghuznee to Caubul, and leave but a narrow valley between them

and the Paropamisan hills. Their streams flow towards the west, into the valley just mentioned.

The first branch of which I have any distinct information, leaves the great chain to the east or north-east of Sirufza, passes to the north of that place, runs in a southerly direction along the western bank of the Gomul, passes to the west of Mummye, and separates that small country from Kuttawauz. Beyond this its course becomes uncertain, but a range running on the same line is met to the south, which is probably a continuation of the branch in question.

There are three branches more to the south, which scarcely deserve to be mentioned; one of them separates Sirufza from Oorghoon, another passes to the north of Wauneh. None of these ranges extend further west than the Gomul.

I have no distinct account of any hills issuing from the range of Solimaun to the south of the Gomul.

I am still less acquainted with the hills in the west of Afghaunistaun than with those I have been describing.

A chain of hills which commences at the northern extremity of the table-land of Kelaut appears to extend to the north-east as far as the Ghiljie country, in latitude 32°. It at first separates Shoraubuk from Pisheen, being called the hill of Speen Taizheh in this part of its course. It then, under the names of Kozhuk and Khojeh Amraun, forms the northern boundary of Pisheen, and afterwards takes the name of Toba, from a country through which it runs. The most northerly part of it is a pass called Gul Narrye, east of the valley of Urghessan, and not far from the range of Torkaunee.

I shall call the whole range I have been describing by the name of Khojeh Amraun, for the convenience of a general name. It is broad, but not high nor steep: snow only lies for a short time on Speen Taizheh, but further to the north-east it lies for three months in the year.

Another range appears to leave the table-land nearly at the same point with that I have just described. It runs east, and forms the southern boundary of Pisheen, which it divides from Shawl. The part nearest the table-land is called Musailugh, and towards the centre it is called Tukkatoo, which, being the highest part of it, may give its name to the range. I can only trace this range about fifty miles to the east of the place where it leaves the table-land, but it is not improbable that it may be connected with one of those ranges which will be hereafter mentioned as crossing the country of the Caukers, and in that case its length will be much more considerable than I have stated.

It seems to be steep and high in proportion to the neighbouring hills, as snow lies on it as long as on any of those before mentioned.

Another range, called Khurlekkee, leaves the table-land of Kelaut nearly in latitude 30° north, and extends to the east as far as the 67° of east longitude, separating the high plain of Bedowla from the low and hot country of Seestaun.

A range of hills, rising over the latter country nearly in latitude 29° north, has already been mentioned as forming the southern boundary of Afghaunistaun. The space extending from the sixty-eighth degree of east longitude to the range of Solimaun, and lying

between the twenty-ninth and thirty-first degrees of north latitude, is full of hills, chiefly in ranges running east and west. It also contains many plains, particularly in the eastern part of the division. The west is the most hilly, and there are even traces of a very high range in that quarter, which seems to run north and south, and to connect all the minor ranges just mentioned. The existence of such a range is founded on the facts that Seona Daugh and Toba are separated from Zhobe by a range of mountains, which is known to be continued to Tubbye, the source of the river Lora. Still further south, in the same line, is a high mountain called Kund, which is said to run north and south; similar ridges running in the same direction are met at Chirry (south of Kund), and at Tsupper (south of Chirry), and a high range continues to the left of the road from Shawl to Dauder, nearly to the last-mentioned place. The line I have marked out, whether occupied by a range of mountains or not, certainly divides the waters of this part of Afghaunistaun, some of the streams which rise in it running east, and others west. There only remain to be mentioned two ranges of hills, one of which commences to the south of Karra-baugh, at no great distance from the Paropamisan mountains, and runs parallel to the left bank of the Turnuk, almost to the 67° of east longitude: the other range begins nearly where the first ends, and runs east. This range is called Soorghur to the west, and Tore Kaunee to the east; and with it I believe I have completed the mention of all remarkable ranges of hills in Afghaunistaun.

CHAPTER III.

RIVERS OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

AFGHAUNISTAUN has few large rivers for a country of such extent. Except the Indus, there is no river in all the country which is not fordable throughout its course for the greater part of the year. The largest partake of the character of torrents, and though they often come down with great force, they soon run off. Their importance is diminished by the drains which are made from them for the purpose of irrigating the fields, by which a large stream is sometimes entirely consumed before it reaches any other river. It may be observed of all the rivers in Afghaunistaun, that their size at their mouths is never equal to the expectations they raise when they first issue from the mountains.

The supplies which they yield to the cultivation, and the interruption they occasion to travellers, are the only considerations which make them of importance. The Indus alone is always navigable, and little use is made even of its navigation.

The Indus, from the length of its course, and the volume of water which it carries to the ocean, must be reckoned among the first rivers in the world. The distance from its head to the sea cannot be exactly ascertained, but it has been traced for 1350 miles, and there is reason to suppose that its whole length is much greater; many of its tributary streams are

themselves little inferior in extent to some of the most considerable rivers in Europe.* The source of this noble river is not yet exactly ascertained. The stream is traced with certainty only to the neighbourhood of Draus, a town in Little Tibet which Lieutenant Macartney places in longitude 76° 48′, and latitude 35° 55′. The main stream comes to this point from the north of east, but its course higher up is unknown. At the point above Draus just mentioned the main stream is met by a smaller branch, which has been traced from Rodauk in Tibet a distance of two hundred and fifty miles. It passes near Ladauk, the capital of Little Tibet, from which it is called the river of Ladauk. It is joined near that city by another stream from the north-west, which Mr. Macartney conjectures to issue from the lake of Surickol. I have, however, been informed by an Uzbek of Ferghauna, that a stream issued from a glacier in Mooz Taugh, on the road between Yaurcund and Ladauk, and that he followed it from the glacier to near Ladauk, without noticing the junction of any considerable stream from the westward ; by his account, therefore, the river has its source in this glacier ; and though I do not think his information to be compared to that acquired by Lieutenant Macartney, yet it may be useful to state it on so obscure a point.

* In length of course, though not in depth or permanence, the Hydaspes, the Hydraotes, and the Hysudrus, are superior to the Rhone ; the course of the Hyphasis is forty miles longer than that of the Elbe, and only sixty less than that of the Rhine. Even the river of Kashkaur is eighty miles longer than the Po; and the Abbaseen, the Koorrum, the Gomul, and the Swan, are none of them much inferior in length of course to the Thames, though they are among the smallest of the rivers that contribute to the stream of the Indus.

It occasioned great regret to Mr. Macartney, that he was not able to fix the sources of the Indus ; but if we consider the desolate character of the country through which that river runs, before it enters Afghaunistaun, we shall find more reason to be surprised at the success with which he has traced the early part of its course, than at his failure in discovering its remotest spring.

His discovery regarding the course of the river of Ladauk is a point of great interest, and the coincidence between his information and the survey of the Ganges made by Lieutenant Webbe in 1808, serves to strengthen the authority of both.

It was formerly believed that the river of Ladauk was one of the principal streams of the Ganges, and that opinion was supported by the high authority of Major Rennel ; but that eminent geographer seems to have been led to this conclusion by the erroneous accounts of the Lamas, and of P. Tiefentaller. Captain Raper and Mr. Webbe were sent on purpose to ascertain the source of the Ganges, and found it to be in the south-eastern side of Hemalleh: far to the south of what was formerly supposed.* It was now proved that the river of Ladauk did not flow into the Ganges, but its real course remained unknown, till Mr. Macartney ascertained its junction with the Indus near Draus.† From Draus, the Indus pursues its solitary course through a mountainous country, little visited by tra-

* See an account of their journey in the eleventh volume of the Asiatic Researches.

† It is possible that the streams which are said to issue from the lake Mansaroor to the south of the river of Ladauk, may be the main stream of the Indus.

vellers. Mr. Macartney had information to which he gave credit, that a branch separated from the Indus below Draus, and passing through Cashmeer, formed the principal stream of the Hydaspes. Though such a separation often occurs in champaign countries, as in the instance of the Ganges, there is some improbability in its taking place in a rapid river, and in a mountainous country: yet even in such situations we sometimes see rivers divided by rocky islands; and, when the separation is once made, there is no difficulty in supposing the nature of the country to be such as to continue it. At Mullaee, after it has passed through the range of Hindoo Coosh, the Indus receives from the north-west the Abbaseen, a small river which rises in that range about one hundred and twenty miles off, and which the neighbouring Afghauns seem falsely to have imagined to be the principal stream of the Indus. It then proceeds for fifty miles, through the lower hills of Hindoo Coosh, to Torbaila, where it issues into an open country, and immediately spreads itself over the plain and encloses innumerable islands.

Forty miles lower down, and near the fort of Attock, it receives the rapid rivers of Caubul, and soon after rushes through a narrow opening into the midst of the branches of the Solimauny range. Even when the water is lowest, the meeting of those rivers, and their course through the rocks before they are buried in the mountains, is full of waves and eddies, and produces a sound like that of the sea. But, when they are swelled by the melting of the snow, they create a tremendous whirlpool, the roaring of which can be heard at a great distance, and which often swallows up boats, or

dashes them against the rocks. The Indus, which is so widely spread in the plain, is contracted at Attock to the breadth of about three hundred yards. It becomes still narrower when it enters the hills; and at Neelaub, a town fifteen miles below Attock, it is said to be no more than a stone's throw across, but exceedingly deep and rapid. From Neelaub, it winds among bare hills to Carra-baugh, where it passes through the Salt Range, in a deep, clear, and tranquil stream. From this to the sea it meets with no interruption, and is no longer shut in by hills.

It now runs in a southerly course, and is poured out over the plain in many channels, which meet and separate again, but seldom are found all united in one stream.

Near Ouch, it receives the Punjnud, a river formed by the junction of those of the Punjaub, which, though a great body of water, is much inferior to the Indus above the junction. The river then runs south-west into Sind, where it is discharged through many mouths into the Gulf of Arabia. In the part of its course, south of mountains, it frequently eats away its banks, and gradually changes its course; and, at its annual rising, it inundates the country for many miles on each side of its bed.*

* Since the account of the source of the Indus was written, I have received a highly interesting journal from Meer Izzut Oollah, a very intelligent native of Dehli, who was induced by Mr. Morecroft, superintendant of the Company's Stud, to undertake a journey into Tartary, for the purpose of ascertaining the possibility of getting horses for the Bengal Cavalry in that country. He went from Cashmeer to Ladauk, and from thence to Yarkund; and the following information respecting the rivers which he passed, is found in different parts of his journal. At Mutauyen, (a place about forty coss from the city of

I shall say nothing in this place of the rivers which join the Indus from the east, which are fully described by Lieutenant Macartney.*

Cashmeer, in a direction to the north of east,) the waters run partly to Cashmeer, and partly to Tibet. The stream which goes to Cashmeer is called the Sind (which name it retains throughout the valley). The other is called the water of Tibet: it flows north-east as far as Pishkum (a village on Izzut Oollah's route, about thirty coss north-east of Mutauyen); and, from that place, it takes a westerly direction, passes through Little Tibet, and flows under Mozufferabad, where it takes the name of that town. A coss below Mozufferabad, it is joined by the river of Cashmeer, (the Sind above mentioned), and flows through the Punjaub, where it is called the Jelum or Behut (Hydaspes). This, therefore, is the Kishen Gunga, which Mr. Macartney supposes to have separated from the Indus, a notion by no means surprising, considering how near the head of the former river is to the course of the latter. About twenty coss from Pishkum, in a direction to the east of north, is the village of Khillich, where Izzut Oollah first met the river of Ladauk, on which he makes the following observations: "Two coss before you come to Khillich, the road goes along the left bank of a river, which flows into the river of Attock (the Indus). It comes from the north-east, and flows towards the south-west; and, it is said, that this river joins the river of Shauyook (the source of which is between Tibet and Yarkund), and, passing through the country of the Eusofzyes, and Bheer, and Turnoul, joins the river of Caubul above the fort of Attock. This river has here no proper name; but is called San Poo, which, in the language of Tibet, signifies great river." From Killich, Izzut Oollah accompanied this river to Ley or Ladauk, which stands on its right bank. His route to Ley would make that city more to the south, and, consequently, nearer to the common position than Lieutenant Macartney has done; but by an observation which he took with a very coarse instrument, "for want of an astrolabe," he makes the latitude 37° 40′ north, which is still farther north than Mr. Macartney's. From Ley, Izzut Oollah proceeded to Yarkund; and, about eighteen coss to the east of north from Ley, he met the river Shauyook, which he accompanied beyond the Glacier of Khumdaun to its source under the ridge of Karrakoorrum,

* See Appendix, D.

Of those which join it from the west, I have already mentioned the Abba Seen. The next river is that of Kaushkaur, which rises in Pooshtee Khur, the peak in Beloot Taugh, which contains the source of the Oxus. The Kaushkaur river issues from the opposite side of the peak, and is divided from the Oxus by the chain of Beloot Taugh, which runs along its right bank as far as Hindoo Coosh; and on its left is the country of Kaushkaur, from which it derives its name. After passing Hindoo Coosh, it has on its right the projection from that mountain, so often mentioned before. On its left, it has mountains pa-

nearly due north of Ley, at the distance of fifteen marches by the road. Izzut Oollah does not describe the Glacier as forming part of the range of mountains, but as a separate mountain of ice, seen on the left of the road, two marches before reaching Karrakoorrum, and extending two hundred coss from Tibet of Balti to Surrik Kol. Though Izzut Oollah does not speak of the range of mountains at Karrakoorrum as exceedingly high, he gives a frightful picture of the cold and desolation of the elevated tract, which extends for three marches on the highest part of the country between Yarkund and Ley. The source of the river of Yarkund is divided by the ridge from the Shauyook, and distant eighteen marches from Yarkund, in a direction to the east of south. It is obvious that this account of the Indus agrees entirely with Mr. Macartney's, except that it makes the Shauyook have its source in Mooz Taugh, and not in the lake of Surik Kol. There is another apparent disagreement, which it is not difficult to remove. Izzut Oollah passed through Draus, about six coss north-east of Mutauyen, but heard nothing of the junction of the river of Ladauk with the Indus, stated by Mr. Macartney to take place near the town of Draus. It is however evident, from Izzut Oollah's account of the river of Ladauk, that, unless that stream alters its course after passing Khillich, it must flow at no great distance to the southward of the point where he crossed the district of Draus; and it is, therefore, more probable than ever that the junction stated by Lieutenant Macartney takes place in the south of that district.—[See additional notice regarding this chapter at the conclusion of the Preface.—1838.]

rallel to that projection, of great height, but not bearing perpetual snow. It then passes through the hilly country beneath the great ranges, and rushes, with surprising violence, into the valley of the Caubul river. I give that name, in conformity to former usage, to a river, formed by different streams, uniting to the east of Caubul. Two of the most considerable come from Hindoo Coosh, through Ghorebund and Punjsheer, and derive their names from those districts. They join to the north of Caubul, and pursue a south-easterly course till they reach Baureekaub. A stream little inferior to those just mentioned, comes from the west of Ghuznee, and is joined to the east of Caubul by a rivulet, which rises in the Paropamisan mountains in the hill, called Cohee Baba. This rivulet alone passes through Caubul, and may be said to have given its name to the whole river.

All the streams I have mentioned unite at Baureekaub, and form the river of Caubul, which flows rapidly to the east, increased by all the brooks from the hills on each side. It receives the river of Kaushkaur at Kaumeh, near Jellallabad; and thence runs east, breaks through the minor branches of Hindoo Coosh, and forms numerous rapids and whirlpools.*

After entering the plain of Peshawer, the Caubul river loses a good deal of its violence, but is still rapid. It breaks into different branches, which join again after they have received a river, formed by two streams, which come from the valleys of Punjcora

* Dangerous as such a navigation must be, people often descend it from Jellallabad on rafts, which shoot down the stream with incredible velocity; but not without considerable danger from the rocks, and from the violence of the current.

and Swaut; and having now collected all its waters, it enters the Indus a little above Attock.

The Caubul river is very inferior to the Indus, being fordable in many places in the dry weather. The Indus, indeed, was forded above the junction by Shauh Shujah and his army, in the end of the winter of 1809; but this was talked of as a miracle, wrought in the King's favour: and I never heard of any other ford in the Indus, from the place where it issues from the mountains to the sea.*

Below Attock, the Indus receives the Toe and other brooks, but nothing deserving of the name of a river, till it reaches the southern part of Esaukhail. It is there joined by the Koorrum, which rises near Huryoob, beyond the ridge of the Solimauny mountains, and runs east, through a very deep valley in that ridge, as far as Burrakhail, where it turns more to the south, and enters the Indus, near Kaggalwalla. Its bed is there broad, but very shallow.

The only river which runs into the Indus, south of this, is the Gomul; and even it can scarcely be said to do so, since its waters are spent in the cultivation of the north of Damaun, and never reach the Indus, but when swelled with rain.

The Gomul rises at Doorchelly to the south of Sirufza, and seems first to run south-west. It soon turns south, and continues in that course to Domun-

[*It appears, from Sir A. Burnes, that the Indus has been often forded above the junction, though seldom without accidents. He forded it himself in March 1832, but with great risk: seven horsemen belonging to a Sik chief, with whom he made the passage, were carried down by the stream; and one man and two horses of the number were drowned. (Vol. i. p. 75.)—1838.]

dee. It there receives the stream of Mummye, and the Coondoor, which rises in the neighbourhood of Teerwa. From this place, the course of the Gomul is easterly to Sirmaugha, where it is joined by the Zhobe, a stream little inferior to the Gomul itself, which rises in the hill of Kund, east of Burshore, and runs through a country, to which it gives its name. A little to the east of Sirmaugha, the Gomul pierces the mountains of Solimaun, passes Rughzee, and fertilizes the lands of Dowlutkhail, and Gundehpoor tribes.*

All the former part of its course is through uninhabited mountains. The stream is everywhere fordable, except when swelled with rain, and even then the water soon runs off.

Different streams issue from the mountains at Zirkunee, Deraubund, Choudwa, and Wuhooa. They all run through valleys, and the two last completely pierce the range of Solimaun; one rising in Spusta, and the other in the Moosakhail country, both west of the range. The two last reach the Indus when swelled with rain.

The greatest of the rivers which run through the west of Afghaunistaun, is the Helmund, or Etymander. It rises at Cohee Baba, twenty or thirty miles west of Caubul, on the eastern edge of the Paropa-

[* By a map published by Dr. Honigberger (who travelled from Deraubund to Caubul in May and June 1833,) it appears that the Gomul, which is pretty correctly laid down in my map, as far up as Tonda Cheena, does not rise at Doorchelly, in which direction is the source of a minor branch, but comes from near the Aubistaudeh Lake, forty or fifty miles further west. (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, vol. iii. page 175.)—1838.]

misan range. It runs through those mountains for upwards of two hundred miles, and then issues into the cultivated plains of the Dooraunees. This tract, however, is not, at the place alluded to, of any great breadth; and the Helmund soon enters a desart, which extends to its termination in the lake of Seestaun. The immediate banks of the Helmund, and the country within half a mile or a mile of them, are everywhere fertile, and in most places well-cultivated. The whole length of the course of the Helmund is about four hundred miles. Though fordable for most part of the year throughout the whole of its course, the Helmund is still a considerable stream: even in the dry season, it is breast deep at the fords nearest to the place where it leaves the mountains; and, at the time of the melting of the snows, it is a deep and rapid river. Besides the rivers which will be hereafter enumerated, it receives a stream from Seeahbund, which reaches it fourteen miles above Girishk, after a course of eighty miles.

The Urghundaub rises at a place in the Hazaureh mountains, eighty miles north-east of Candahar, and considerably to the south of the source of the Helmund. Its course lies to the southward of that river, which it joins below Girishk, after passing within a few miles of Candahar, and watering the richest part of the Dooraunee country. It is a small stream in winter, but deep and rapid when swelled by the melting of the snow. It is never more than one hundred and fifty yards broad.

The Khashrood rises at Saukhir, ninety miles south-east and by south from Heraut; and, after a course of one hundred and fifty miles, joins the Helmund,

near Khoonnesheen in the Gurmseer. It is a rapid river, and larger than the Urghundaub.

The Furrah-rood rises near that last mentioned, and is a much more considerable stream. It is uncertain whether it reaches the lake of Seestaun, or is lost in the sands; but, in either case, its course is not less than two hundred miles long. The Turnuk rises near Mookkoor, and at first pursues a south-westerly course along the road to Candahar. It then turns west, passes to the south of Candahar, and joins the Urghundaub, about twenty-five miles west of that city. The Turnuk, generally speaking, runs through a plain country, and is not remarkable for rapidity. To the south of Candahar, it receives the Urghessaun, which rises near Caufirchauh, and waters a country which is known by its name. It is a rapid torrent, never remains deep for more than two or three days, and leaves its bed dry for a great part of the year. Still lower down, the Turnuk receives the Shorundaum, a petty rivulet, and the Doree, which rises in the neighbourhood of Rabaut. Notwithstanding these additions, it seems rather to decrease in size from the losses it suffers from the dryness of the country, and the demands of the cultivation; so that, after a course of two hundred miles, it is still a small stream when it joins the Urghundaub.

The Lora rises at Tubbye, in the mountain of Kund, and runs through Burshore into Pisheen. It there receives as much as escapes from the cultivation of the Soorkhaub, a rivulet, which rises in the hill of Kund, near the source of the Zhobe. It afterwards runs through a narrow defile in the hills of Speen Taizheh into Shoraubuk, where it breaks into two

branches. They unite again to the west of that country, and the whole is lost in the neighbourhood of Choghye in the Gurmseer. The length of the Lora is near two hundred miles, and it is of a considerable breadth, but never too deep to be forded for more than a week at a time. Its banks are so high in Pisheen, as to prevent its being employed for irrigation; but in Shoraubuk they are lower, and it supplies almost all the water used in agriculture.*

The river, which was anciently called the Ochus, can scarcely be reckoned to belong to Afghaunistaun. It rises at Oba, in the Paropamisan mountains, and runs past Heraut. It continues to run westerly for a short distance, through Afghaun and Persian Khorassaun; after which it runs north, and enters the desart on the left of the Oxus. It is said formerly to have reached the Caspian Sea, but I believe it is now lost in the desart. It is crossed between Merve and Mehhed, but I have no particular information regarding its lower course. It was anciently called Herirood; but is now known to the Persians and Afghauns by the name of Poollee Maulaun, and to the Uzbeks by that of Tejend.†

[* It appears by Mr. Conolly's travels that there are two Loras, one as above described, and another which rises at Sireeaub south of Quetta, and joins the former after passing Shadeezye. Mr. Conolly also heard that the river thus formed went on through Shoraubuk, and was received by a lake about one hundred and twenty miles west of Pisheen. (Vol. ii. p. 128.)—1838.]

[† The course of the river of Heraut towards the Oxus was adopted by D'Anville, but controverted by Rennell, who conceived that it ran south into the lake of Seestaun. The question is of some importance, as determining the line of the elevated land which separates the waters flowing to the Oxus from those flowing into Persia, and

Though there are many streams in Afghaunistaun as large in themselves as some of those I have mentioned, I need take no notice of them, unless their importance is raised by their contributing to a great river, or by some other circumstance of that kind.

which connects Paropamisus with Taurus, and other western mountains. Mohun Lall's observations throw much light on this subject; and, as his book is scarce in England, I insert the substance of them, premising that he lived seven months at Heraut, and must often have seen the river. With this knowledge, he expressly says, that the River of Heraut falls into the Oxus, (page 193); but he also gives particulars of more value than this general assertion. In page 204, he says Pozeh Kafter Kháneh stands "on the left bank of the river, *towards the south-west*." He mentions, (page 234,) that the river passes to the south of Heraut, and gives the following account of it on his return to Mehhed. He first crossed it before reaching Ghoriaum (page 191): he crossed it again by a bridge to a Rabaut at Teerpool, which was on the *right bank*. Next day he attempted to ford, but not succeeding, he returned to the bridge, repassed it, and went along the *left bank* to Kaufir Kella; from whence he went by Jaum and Mahmoodabad to Mushhed, *without meeting with any stream*, or *any pass* on his way. Again, in going from Heraut to Furrah, after passing Shahbed, twenty-four miles from Heraut, he came to a very high pass, after which he reached the streams of Rodguz and Adruscund, flowing towards the Helmund [that is, south] (page 254). This high ridge, therefore, separates the waters; and, as he describes it as composed of mountains " resembling those of Pind Dadan Khán, celebrated for the salt mines in the Punjáb," there can be little doubt that they are the same with the steep range, which he describes (page 249) as passing between Khauf and Jaum, and as containing a fruitful mine of salt. These are probably the same mountains which he crossed with much difficulty between Furkhabad and Toorbuti Hyderee (page 200); and the same which Captain Christie saw still farther west between Chilsar and Oonshy, on his right, running off to the north-west. (*Pottinger's Travels*, page 419.) It is probable that they go near Neeshapore, and divide the streams which run to Mehhed from those which form the Poolee Abreshm river.—1838.]

It therefore only remains to mention the streams, which form the only lake of which I have heard in Afghaunistaun. The Pultsee, the Jilga, and another rivulet, issue from the mountains of Solimaun, north of the range of Sirufza, and flow west into the lake, which is situated to the south-south-west of Ghuznee, and about two marches south-west of Mybolauk.

It was on one of these streams that Sultaun Mahmood built his famous embankment, which supplied the city of Ghuznee, and its neighbourhood, with water: and which was destroyed by one of the early Afghaun kings, before he had succeeded in overturning the empire of Ghuznee. Besides other little streams, the lake receives a rivulet from the south, which rises near Gwaushta; and the whole united make a piece of water, which, in the dry weather, is only three or four miles in diameter, and about twice as much after floods. The water of the lake is salt, as is that of some of the rivulets which join it. It is called Aubistaudeh, which, in Persian, means standing water.

CHAPTER IV.

NATURAL AND POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

The plain of the Indus from the sea to Sungur, is included in Sind. Of this division, the part which extends from the sea to Shikarpoor, is inhabited by Sindees, under a native prince, but tributary to Caubul. This is now generally called Sinde by the English; but may, with more propriety, be called Lower Sind. From Shirkarpoor, inclusive, to Sungur, may be called Upper Sind. The part of it which lies to the west of the Indus, is chiefly inhabited by Beloches; and, with the exception of a small tract north of Shikarpoor, is directly under the government of Caubul. Above Sungur, as far as the eastern branches of the Solimaun range, is Damaun. The hills south of the Salt Range, and the plains and valleys which they enclose, are also generally included in Damaun. The plain, immediately on the right bank of the Indus, and north of Sungur, is inhabited by Beloches, and is sometimes distinguished from Damaun, and called by the Beloche or Hindostaunee name of Muckelwaud. Damaun is then only applied to the skirts of the hills, which indeed is the original meaning of the word. In this sense, the southern part of Damaun is inhabited by the Stooreeaunees, after whom, to the north, are the Bauboors, Meeaunkhails,

Gundehpoors, Dowlutkhails, and Murwuts; all Afghaun tribes. To the north of the latter, and along the utmost boundary of Damaun, in this extended sense, are the Afghaun tribes, who inhabit Khost, Dour, and Bunnoo, and that of Esaukhail. In the same extent of the range of Solimaun, live the Zmurrees, Sheeraunees, Wuzeerees, and Jadrauns.

The Jaujees and Torees inhabit a deep valley, which appears to be cut by the Koorrum in the Solimauny range: between the Salt Range and that of 34° are hills and valleys, inhabited by the tribes of Bungush and Kuttuk. The latter, in some places, extends to the south of the Salt Range, and even crosses the Indus about Muckud. To the north of the range of 34°, is the rich and extensive plain of Peshawer, watered by the river of Caubul, and bounded on the east by the Indus. The Khuttuks extend over the south-eastern part of this plain. The northern part belongs to the Eusofzyes, who inhabit also the country among the hills, which I have mentioned, under the names of Boonere, Swaut, and Punjcora. Some of the Eusofzye tribes extend to the east of the Indus. The rest of the plain of Peshawer belongs to certain tribes, often comprehended in the name of the tribes of Peshawer.

The plain of Peshawer is bounded on the west by the subordinate range, which crosses from Hindoo Coosh to Suffaid Coh. The southern part of these hills, which is naked and barren, belongs to the upper Momunds. The northern part is covered with pines, and belongs to the Otmaunkhail. To the west of this range of hills, is the spacious valley of Bajour, which runs into that of Punjcora, and which is sur-

mounted on the west by the southern projection from Hindoo Coosh. West of the plain of Peshawer is the valley of the Caubul river, the eastern part of which is little higher than Peshawer; but the western is elevated to the level of the countries west of the range of Solimaun. The countries on the left bank of the river have already been described, owing to their connection with Hindoo Coosh. On the right bank, there is first the country of the Khyberees; and, farther west, the rich plain of Jellallabad. West of Jellallabad, are Gundamuk and Jugdilluk, which, with all the high country, extending from the plain of Caubul to the hills of the Khyberees, bounded on the south by Suffaid Coh, and on the north by the plain on the Caubul river, is called Ningrahaur, or Nungnehaur *. The Cohistaun of Caubul has been described: south of it is the plain of Caubul, which is spoken of as enchanting by all who have seen it. It has the Paropamisan mountains on the west, part of the Cohistaun on the north, the valley of the Caubul river, and the hills of Ningrahaur and Logur, connected with the range of Solimaun on the east. To the south, it opens on a long valley ascending towards Ghuznee, the greater part of which is inhabited by the Afghaun tribe of Wurduk. On the west, this valley has the Paropamisan range; and on the east it has different branches of the range of Solimaun, including valleys, of which the principal are Logur, Speiga, Khurwaur, and Zoormool. The three first slope towards the river of Ghuznee; but the water of Zoormool runs into the Aubistaudeh. All the

* From the nine streams which issue from it; Nung, in Pushtoo, signifying nine; and Nehaura, a stream.

streams west of the range of Mummye, north of Ghwaushteh, south of Ghuznee, and east of the parallel of Mookkoor, run into the same lake ; so that the country within those limits, forms a basin free from hills, and moderately fertile, on the highest part of an elevated plain. This natural division includes many little districts, of which the principal, beginning from the south, are Ghwaushteh, Kuttawauz, Mybolauk, Shilgur, Ghuznee and Naunee.

There is no marked limit between the basin of the Aubistaudeh and the country west of the meridian of Mookkoor ; the latter, however, has a western inclination.

It is included between the Paropamisan mountains and the range of Khojeh Amraun, and may be divided into the valley of the Urghessaun, that of the Turnuk, and the high country between those rivers. The former is not broad, nor remarkably fertile : it slopes to the north-west. It is inhabited by Dooraunees, and the mouth of it extends to the neighbourhood of Candahar. To the south east of it is a hilly and pastoral country extending to Shoraubuk. The country between the Urghessaun and Turnuk, is composed of the ranges of Mookkoor and Torkaunee, and the plains which they enclose.

The general slope of the valley of Turnuk, from Mookkoor to Kelauti Ghiljie, is to the south-west. It also shelves towards the river from the Paropamisan mountains, and from the high land before mentioned, in the parallel of Kellaee Abdooreheem. But, except in the most northerly part of this natural division, these slopes are so moderate that the tract may with propriety be described as a wavy plain, scat-

tered with hills. It is not infertile, and in many places it is well cultivated; but in general it is dry, and a large portion of it is left waste for that reason. It is destitute of trees. The uncultivated parts abound in bushes, which serve for fuel and for the food of camels, but which do not form continued tracts of brushwood, such as are common in India. The breadth of this valley is about sixty miles, and the length of the part I have described is very little more. It is inhabited by Ghiljies.

The Urghundaub issues from the mountains to the north of Kelauti Ghiljie. From that river to the Helmund is a hilly country, connected on the north with the Paropamisan mountains, and reaching nearly to the parallel of Candahar on the south. The southern part of this tract is infertile. The rest, in which are included the districts of Khaukraiz, Laum, and perhaps some others, contains some fertile plains, among hills, which bear almond and other trees.

The country round Candahar is fertile, and highly cultivated. Still farther south it is poor, and becomes more so as it extends west; so that for many marches towards the left bank of the Helmund it is a complete desart. Both banks of the Helmund, however, are fertile, and compose the country of Gurmseer. Its limits on the east and west are formed by the desart; on the south it has Seestaun, and on the north, the part of the Dooraunee country lower down the Helmund than Girishk. This, and the country round Girishk, are fertile near the Helmund. At a distance from the river it is sandy, but not a desart. Still further up the river, on its right bank, lies the rich country of Zemeendawer, which has the Paropamisan

mountains on the north, and some hills connected with that range are found within its limits. This fine country extends for forty or fifty miles to the west of the Helmund. To the north-west of Zemeendawer lies the country of Seeahbund, along the foot of the Paropamisan mountains. It is naturally fertile, and well watered; but it is little cultivated, and chiefly used for pasture.

To the south-west of Seeahbund, and east of Furrah, the country becomes more and more arid as it recedes from the hills, till it ends in the desart.

Furrah is a considerable town, and the country round it is fertile, but it is of no great extent; so that Furrah itself, and some other tracts to the north and south of it, seem rich islands in the midst of a waste, approaching in appearance to a desart. Yet this land does not appear to be naturally incapable of cultivation; and it is probable that wherever there is water it is productive.

About twenty miles to the north of Furrah we meet the mountains, which stretch across from the Paropamisan range into Persian Khorassaun. Among these mountains, which are covered with forests, we find the extensive and fertile plain of Subzaur or Isfezaur.

Some more barren country intervenes before we reach Heraut, which is situated in an ample plain of unequalled fertility, and surrounded by high mountains.

The whole of the country I have been describing, from Kelauti Ghiljie to Heraut, except Seeahbund and Subzaur, is inhabited by the tribe of Dooraunee, which is the greatest among the Afghauns. Its gene-

ral slope is to the south. Candahar, and the country to the west of it, are the lowest of all the tracts I have yet described west of the range of Solimaun; but even they are much more elevated than the plains on the east of those mountains.

Returning to the neighbourhood of Ghuznee, we find Zoormool divided from Sirufza on the south by a branch from Cohee Solimaun.

Sirufza, Oorghoon, and Wauneh, have been described as descending in stages to the Gomul, which bounds them on the south, and as sloping from the mountains of Solimaun westward towards the upper course of the same river, which forms their western boundary. They are divided from each other by branches of the Solimaunee mountains, and are all little cleared plains, among mountains covered with forests of pines. They are high and cold countries; but all these qualities are found less in the southern parts than the northern. Sirufza belongs to the Kharotee tribe of Ghiljies, as does the southern part of the plain of Oorghoon, under the name of Seroba. Oorghoon itself belongs to the Fermoollees, a Persian tribe. Wauneh belongs to an Afghaun tribe called Dumtauny. To the west of Wauneh, beyond a range of hills, is the mountainous country of Mummye, the slope of which is east towards the Gomul. Mummye is divided on the west by the same branch which passes to the west of Sirufza, from the basin of the Aubistaudeh.

In the mountains to the south of Mummye are the valleys of Oozdeh, Coondoor, &c., and the plains of Docheena, Turrukghuz, &c., all sloping east to the Gomul.

To the west of these is a high table-land sloping west, supported on the north-west by the range of Khojeh Amraun, and containing Cauferchauh, Sauleh Yesoon, Seeoona Daug,* and Toba. The valley of Burshore descends from this table-land into Pisheen, which also lies south of Toba. Burshore is a fertile valley, watered by the Lora. Pisheen is low, but higher than Candahar.* It is a plain not remarkably fertile. To the south of Pisheen is Shawl, divided from it by the range of Tukkatoo. It is higher than Pisheen, but lower than Moostoong, a plain to the west of it, under the table-land of Kelaut. Shawl and Moostoong both belong to the Beloche Prince of Kelaut, though the former is chiefly inhabited by Afghauns. Both are fertile, but from Shawl the land rises gradually to Khurlukkee, and gets more dry and barren as it approaches that range; a proof that the range is not high, though it rises so much above Seestaun on the south.

The barren country between Khurlekkee and Shawl is called the Dushti Bedowleh, or, *The Unhappy Plain*.

To the east of it and Shawl are the mountains which I suppose to form a continued range from Khurlekkee, by Tsupper and Chirry, to Kund. East of those mountains I have described different ranges of hills, as running east towards the range of Solimaun. The most southerly of these bounds Afghaunistaun on the south. Between that range and the next lie the valley of Zawureh, and the plain of Tul-Chooteeallee. The latter places are in one plain of considerable extent, of hard clay like that of the

* Daug is the Pushtoo for a plain, Seeoona is the name of a tribe of Caukers who inhabit this space.

Indus. Zawureh is much narrower than Tul-Chooteeallee; but both are fertile, and inhabited by Speen Tereens, a division of the Afghaun tribe that possesses Pisheen.

To the north of these, and divided from them by hills, is Boree, a more extensive plain than either of the former, and rich and well watered. Other hills, some of which appear to be a continuation of Tukkatoo, bound Boree on the north, and separate it from other districts less level and less fertile.

North of this tract, is Zhobe, so called from the river which waters it. It is a diversified country, but the whole is ill cultivated; some parts are hilly: in others are open plains; and on the river are plains covered with Tamarisk trees and bushes. To the north-west of Zhobe is Khyssore, which seems to be a valley under the hills which support the table-land of Seeoona Daug: on the north-east, Zhobe opens on the valley of the Gomul, and on the east it has the hilly countries under the range of Solimaun, the most northerly of which belong to the Hurrepaul division of the Sheeraunees, to the south of whom are a division of the Bauboors, and then Caukers, in some places mixed with Beloches. I conceive Boree and Tul-Chooteeallee to be about as high as Candahar: from Boree, the country rises to the northward as far as the borders of Zhobe, and then descends towards the Gomul. The narrow valley of the Gomul, though sunk among the surrounding hills, is much more elevated than the plain of the Indus, and probably even than Candahar; the parts of the Cauker country near the mountains, to the east and west, are higher than those in the centre, but the greatest elevation is towards the west.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE CLIMATE OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.—RAIN.

As the occasional showers which fall throughout the year in England, are unknown in most Asiatic countries, the first particular to attend to in examining their climate, is the season and the quantity of the periodical rains. It is this which regulates husbandry, and on which in many countries the temperature and succession of the seasons in a great measure depend.

The most remarkable rainy season, is that called in India the south-west monsoon.* It extends from Africa to the Malay peninsula, and deluges all the intermediate countries within certain lines of latitude for four months in the year. In the south of India this monsoon commences about the beginning of June, but it gets later as we advance towards the north. Its approach is announced by vast masses of clouds that rise from the Indian ocean, and advance towards the north-east, gathering and thickening as they approach the land. After some threatening days, the sky assumes a troubled appearance in the evenings, and the monsoon in general sets in during the night. It is attended with such a thunder-storm as can scarcely be imagined by those who have only seen that phenomenon in a temperate cli-

mate. It generally begins with violent blasts of wind, which are succeeded by floods of rain. For some hours lightning is seen almost without intermission; sometimes it only illuminates the sky, and shows the clouds near the horizon; at others it discovers the distant hills, and again leaves all in darkness, when in an instant it re-appears in vivid and successive flashes, and exhibits the nearest objects in all the brightness of day. During all this time the distant thunder never ceases to roll, and is only silenced by some nearer peal, which bursts on the ear with such a sudden and tremendous crash as can scarcely fail to strike the most insensible heart with awe.* At length the thunder ceases, and nothing is heard but the continual pouring of the rain, and the rushing of the rising streams. The next day presents a gloomy spectacle: the rain still descends in torrents, and scarcely allows a view of the blackened fields: the rivers are swoln and discoloured, and sweep down along with them the hedges, the huts, and the remains of the cultivation which was carried on, during the dry season, in their beds.

This lasts for some days, after which the sky clears, and discovers the face of nature changed as if by enchantment. Before the storm the fields were parched up, and, except in the beds of the rivers, scarce a

* To persons who have long resided in India, these storms lose much of their grandeur, yet they sometimes rise to such a pitch, as to make an impression on those most habituated to them. I have been told by a gentleman who had been for some time in Malabar, the province most distinguished for the violence of the monsoon, that he there heard a clap of thunder which produced a silence of a minute in a large party of officers, and made a great part of the company turn pale.

blade of vegetation was to be seen: the clearness of the sky was not interrupted by a single cloud, but the atmosphere was loaded with dust, which was sufficient to render distant objects dim, as in a mist, and to make the sun appear dull and discoloured till he attained a considerable elevation: a parching wind blew like a blast from a furnace, and heated wood, iron, and every other solid material, even in the shade; and immediately before the monsoon, this wind had been succeeded by still more sultry calms. But when the first violence of the storm is over, the whole earth is covered with a sudden, but luxuriant verdure: the rivers are full and tranquil: the air is pure and delicious; and the sky is varied and embellished with clouds. The effect of the change is visible on all the animal creation, and can only be imagined in Europe by supposing the depth of a dreary winter to start at once into all the freshness and brilliancy of spring. From this time the rain falls at intervals for about a month, when it comes on again with great violence, and in July the rains are at their height: during the third month they rather diminish, but are still heavy; and in September they gradually abate, and are often entirely suspended till near the end of the month, when they depart amidst thunders and tempests as they came.

Such is the monsoon in the greater part of India. It is not, however, without some diversity, the principal feature of which is the delay in its commencement, and the diminution in the quantity of rain, as it recedes from the sea. In the countries which are the subject of the present inquiry, the monsoon is felt with much less violence than in India, and is

exhausted at no great distance from the sea, so that no trace of it can be perceived at Candahar. A remarkable exception to this rule, is, however, to be observed in the north-east of Afghaunistaun, which, although much further from the sea than Candahar, is subject to the monsoon, and what is equally extraordinary, receives it from the east.

These anomalies may perhaps be accounted for by the following considerations. It is to be observed, that the clouds are formed by the vapours of the Indian ocean, and are driven over the land by a wind from the south-west.* Most part of the tract in which the kingdom of Caubul lies, is to the leeward of Africa and Arabia, and receives only the vapours of the narrow sea between its southern shores and the latter country, which are but of small extent, and are exhausted in the immediate neighbourhood of the coast. India lying further east, and beyond the shelter of Africa, the monsoon spreads over it without any obstruction. It is naturally most severe near the sea, from which it draws its supplies, and is exhausted after it has passed over a great extent of land. For this reason, the rains are more or less plentiful in each country, according to its distance from the sea, except in those near high mountains, which arrest the clouds, and procure a larger supply of rain for the neighbouring tracts, than would have fallen to their share, if the passage of the clouds had been unobstructed.

* The causes of the south-west wind require a separate discussion, unconnected with my object, which is to explain the summer rains of the kingdom of Caubul. It is sufficient for my purpose that the prevalence of this wind to the extent alleged, is universally acknowledged.

The obstacle presented to the clouds and winds by the mountains has another effect of no small importance. The south-west monsoon blows over the ocean in its natural direction; and, though it may experience some diversities after it reaches the land, its general course over India may still be said to be towards the north-east, till it is exhausted on the western and central parts of the peninsula. The provinces in the north-east receive the monsoon in a different manner: the wind which brings the rains to that part of the continent, originally blows from the south-west, over the Bay of Bengal, till the mountains of Hemalleh, and those which join them from the south, stop its progress, and compel it to follow their course towards the north-west. The prevailing wind, therefore, in the region south-west of Hemalleh, is from the south-east, and it is from that quarter that our provinces in Bengal receive their rains. But when the wind has reached so far to the north-west as to meet with Hindoo Coosh, it is again opposed by that mountain, and turned off along its face towards the west, till it meets the projection of Hindoo Coosh and the range of Solimaun, which prevent its further progress in that direction, or at least compel it to part with the clouds with which it was loaded. The effect of the mountains in stopping the clouds borne by this wind, is different in different places. Near the sea, where the clouds are still in a deep mass, part is discharged on the hills and the country beneath them, and part passes up to the north-west; but part makes its way over the first hills, and produces the rains in Tibet. In the latitude of Cashmeer, where the clouds are considerably exhausted, this last division is little

perceived: the southern face of the hills and the country still farther south are watered, and a part of the clouds continue their progress to Afghaunistaun; but few make their way over the mountains, or reach the valley of Cashmeer. The clouds which pass on to Afghaunistaun are exhausted as they go: the rains become weaker and weaker, and at last are merely sufficient to water the mountains, without much affecting the plains at their base.

The above observations will explain, or at least connect, the following facts. The south-west monsoon commences on the Malabar coast in May, and is there very violent; it is later and more moderate in Mysore; and the Coromandel coast, covered by the mountainous countries on its west, is entirely exempt from it. Further north, the monsoon begins early in June, and loses a good deal of its violence, except in the places influenced by the neighbourhood of the mountains or the sea, where the fall of water is very considerable. About Dehli, it does not begin till the end of June, and the fall of rain is greatly inferior to what is felt at Calcutta or Bombay. In the north of the Punjaub, near the hills, it exceeds that of Dehli; but, in the south of the Punjaub, distant both from the sea and the hills, very little rain falls. The countries under the hills of Cashmeer, and those under Hindoo Coosh, (Pukhlee, Boonere, and Swaut,) have all their share of the rains; but they diminish as we go west, and at Swaut are reduced to a month of clouds, with occasional showers. In the same month (the end of July and beginning of August) the monsoon appears in some clouds and showers at Peshawer, and in the Bungush and Khut-

tuk countries. It is still less felt in the valley of the Caubul river, where it does not extend beyond Lughmaun; but in Bajour and Punjcora, under the southern projection, in the part of the Caufir country which is situated on the top of the same projection, and in Teera, situated in the angle formed by Tukhti Solimaun and its eastern branches, the south-west monsoon is heavy, and forms the principal rains of the year. There is rain in this season in the country of the Jaujees and Torees, which probably is brought from the north by the eddy in the winds; but I have not information enough to enable me to conjecture whether that which falls in Bunnoo and the neighbouring countries is to be ascribed to this cause, or to the regular monsoon from the south-west.

The regular monsoon is felt as far west as the utmost boundary of Mekraun; it is not easy to fix its limits on the north-west with precision, but I have no accounts of it beyond a line drawn through the northern part of the table-land of Kelaut and the northern parts of Shoraubuk, of Pisheen, and of Zhobe, to the source of the Koorrum; it falls, however, in very different quantities in the various countries south-east of that line. The clouds pass with little obstruction over Lower Sind, but rain more plentifully in Upper Sind and Damaun, where these rains, though not heavy, are the principal ones in the year. On the sea-coast of Luss and Mekraun, on the other hand, they are arrested by the mountains, and the monsoon resembles that of India. In Seestaun the monsoon is probably the same as in Upper Sind and Damaun: in Boree it is only about a month of cloudy and showery weather: it is probably less in

Zhobe; and in the other countries within the line it only appears in showers, more precarious as we advance towards the north.*

The second rain to be noticed, is that which falls in winter, and which assumes the form of rain or snow, according to the temperature of the place; it extends over all the countries west of the Indus, as far as the Hellespont, and is of much greater importance to husbandry than the south-west monsoon, except in the few districts already specified; it is indeed the most considerable rainy season in all the countries I have to mention, excepting those included in India; it even appears in India, but only lasts for two or three days about Christmas; and though of some importance to the cultivation, cannot always be relied on.

Where it falls in the form of snow, it is the most important to agriculture, but where it falls as rain, it is less so than that of the spring; the inferiority of the quantity of the latter being more than compensated by the opportuneness of its fall.

The spring rain generally falls at different times during a period extending in some places to a fortnight, and in others to a month; it extends over Afghaunistaun, Toorkistaun, and all the other countries which I have to mention. In most parts of India, some showers fall at the same season, and delay the approach of the hot winds, but have little effect on the cultivation. In all the other countries, it is of the utmost consequence to husbandry, as it falls at the time when the most important crop is beginning

* I hope all the above information will be found correct; but I am not sanguine about the theory, which I should have suppressed, if I had not thought it useful in connecting the facts.

to appear above the ground. Both this and the winter rain are said to come from the west.

The climate of Afghaunistaun varies extremely in different parts of the country. This is in some measure to be attributed to the difference of latitude, but still more to the different degrees of elevation of different tracts. The direction of the prevailing winds also materially affects the climate; some blow over snowy mountains; others are heated in summer, and rendered cold in winter, by their passage over desarts and other arid tracts of great extent; some places are refreshed in summer by breezes from moister countries, and some are so surrounded by hills as to be inaccessible to any wind at all.

I shall begin with describing the temperature of the plain of Peshawer, which, from the length of our residence there, is better known to me than that of any part of the Afghaun dominions. When it is described, I shall have a standard with which the temperature of the rest of the country may be compared.

Peshawer is situated on a low plain, surrounded on all sides except the east, with hills. The air is consequently much confined, and the heat greatly increased. In the summer of 1809, which was reckoned a mild one, the thermometer was for several days at 112° and 113°, in a large tent artificially cooled, which is as high as in the hottest parts of India. The duration of this heat is not, however, so great as that of an Indian summer, and it is compensated by a much colder winter. The following is an account of the progress of the seasons at Peshawer.

The mission arrived in the plain of Peshawer on February 23rd, 1809. The weather was then cold at

night, but perfectly agreeable in the day, and not hot, even in the sun, at any part of the twenty-four hours. The ground was frequently covered with hoar-frost in the morning, as late as the 8th of March, but by the middle of that month the sun was disagreeable by eight in the morning. The weather after this became gradually hotter, and the heat of the sun grew more intense, but the air was often refreshed by showers, and it was always cool in the shade, till the first week in May, when even the wind began to be heated. At the time of our arrival the new grass was springing up through the withered grass of the last year; some of the early trees were budding, but all the other deciduous plants were bare. The approach of the spring was, however, very rapid. In the first week in March, peach and plum trees began to blossom; apple, quince, and mulberry trees were in bloom in the course of the second week; before the end of March the trees were in full foliage, early in April barley began to be in ear, and it began to be cut down during the first week in May. From that time the heat increased, and was often very severe, even in the night, till the beginning of June, when a whole night of strong hot wind from the north-west was succeeded by such a coolness in the air as was uncomfortable in the morning, but pleasant during the rest of the day. This coolness was not of any great duration, and the heat was at its utmost height by the 23rd of June, when we crossed the Indus. Violent hot winds from the south blew all night, till the last day we were in the plain of Peshawer, when the wind came round to the north-east, and was delightfully cool. From that time we understood that the heat would again increase till the middle of

July, when a cold wind would set in from the east, and be succeeded by cool and cloudy weather. The last half of September we understood was always so cold as to be counted in winter, and the succeeding months were said to become colder and colder till February. The cold even in winter is not very severe; though frost is frequent in the nights and mornings, it never lasts long after the sun is up, and snow has only been once seen by the oldest inhabitants. Some of the Indian plants remain in leaf all the year. From the remoteness of my station, I have not now access to the diaries of those gentlemen of the mission who kept an account of the thermometer, but I imagine that its greatest height in the shade is about 120°, and its greatest depression in the course of the year about 25°. It is to be observed, that the summer of 1809 was reckoned very cool, but there can, I think, be no doubt that in every year the summer of Peshawer is more moderate than that of Hindoostaun, while the winter is much colder. The favourable opinion which I have formed of the climate of Peshawer, from a comparison with that of India, by no means occurs to a person accustomed to the coolness of the western part of the Afghaun dominions. The natives of Caubul and Candahar, who were at Peshawer with the King, concurred in exclaiming against the intolerable heat; and verses, epigrams, and proverbs, without number, were quoted to show the bad opinion which was generally entertained of that climate.

The temperature of the other countries, in the north of Afghaunistaun, is as various as might be expected from the difference of their elevation and circum-

stances. The low parts are hot, the middle temperate, and the high cold; but, generally speaking, the average heat of the year does not reach that of India, nor the cold that of England.

The extremes will be shown by examining the climate of Lughmaun west of Peshawer. There is not, indeed, in the whole kingdom of Caubul, so remarkable for the variety of its climate, a more surprising instance of great difference of temperature in little space, than is exhibited in the tract I have selected. In the height of summer, while the plain of Jellallabad is intolerably sultry, and while the very wind is so hot as often to occasion the death of persons exposed to it, the mountain of Suffaid Coh lifts its head, crowned with perpetual snow, immediately from the plain: the nearest northern hills are cold, and the more remote covered with snow; and the table-land of Caubul, to the west of Lughmaun, enjoys the coolness and verdure of a temperate summer. This contrast is a constant theme of wonder to travellers from more uniform climates. The Emperor Bauber gives the following account (in his commentaries) of the impression made on him by this sudden change, on his first journey to the east of Caubul. "I had never," says he, "before seen the hot climates, or the Indian country. When I reached the pass, I saw another world. The grass, the trees, the birds, the animals, and the tribes of men: All was new! I was astonished."

Returning to the south of the Berdooraunee country, Bunnoo appears to be as hot as Peshawer, and the Esaukhail perhaps hotter. Khost and Dour, as they are higher than Bunnoo, are probably cooler.

The Murwut country is made up of hills and plains,

and consequently has not a uniform climate. The plains, at least, are very hot, and parched up by the heat of summer. Largee was far from cool even in January.

The winter of Damaun is very agreeable, being colder than any part of Hindoostaun. Frost is common in the morning; and the thermometer, in 1809, was generally some degrees below the freezing point at day-break. The summer is intolerably hot. I have heard inhabitants of Damaun say, that they have never experienced in India any weather so oppressive as that of Damaun. The heat of the nights is scarcely inferior to that of the days. The inhabitants are obliged to wet their clothes before they can go to sleep; and every man places a large vessel of water by his bed to relieve the thirst, with which he is sure to be tormented during the night. The climate of the countries in the range of Solimaun, varies of course with their level. In general they are cold, and most so towards the north. The valleys between the parallel ranges are little cooler than Damaun. The heat of Sind is at least equal to that of Damaun; and, probably, increases as we go towards the south, till it is moderated by breezes from the sea. Seestaun is a very hot country; and Sewee is proverbially the hottest place in the kingdom of Caubul.*

Tul, Chooteeallee, and Zawureh are, by no means, so hot as Sewee; and the climate of Boree is temperate throughout the year; the winter seems to

* I have heard a saying about Sewee, which, however, is applied by the Persians to many other remarkably hot places. "Ai Khooda Choon Sewee daushtee chera Dozukh Saukhtee." O God! when you had Sewee, why need you have made Hell?

be as cold as that of Peshawer, and the summer less hot. I can only speak of Zhobe by conjecture, but I should think it was cooler than Zoree. If we ascend from Seestaun into Khorassaun, at a point to the westward of the countries I have just described, we find the Dushti Bedowleh, the cold of which is described as being very severe iu winter ; in Shawl, it is more moderate ; and in Pisheen still more so than in Shawl ; yet, even in Pisheen, standing water freezes, and snow sometimes lies for a fortnight. Burshore is still colder than Pisheen ; but Shoraubuk, lying lower than Pisheen, and bordering on the desart, has a hot climate ; snow never falls ; the hedges and surface of standing water freeze in winter ; but, in summer, the sand is heated to such a degree as to render it impossible to walk on it bare-footed. North of Pisheen are the hills of Toba, in which was situated the summer retreat of Ahmed Shauh. Of them, and of the other mountains about Pisheen, and those in the west of the Cauker country which adjoin to them, I can only make the same obvious remark which I have applied to other mountains, that the climate of places in them varies with the elevation. Going north from Pisheen, the heat increases till we reach Candahar. The Dooraunee country is generally temperate towards the north, and hot towards the south, but, probably, in no part so hot as Peshawer, where it includes part of the Paropamisan range ; as to the north of Candahar the cold in winter and heat in summer are both severe. Zemeendawer, which lies immediately to the south of these mountains, is described as a temperate and agreeable climate. In the most northerly part of the Dooraunee country, near Heraut,

the cold of winter is very severe; but the summer would be hot, were not the air refreshed by a permanent wind from the north-west. In the high-lying district of Subzaur, or Isfezaur, south of Heraut, snow is said to lie for five months; and all the water is frozen, except that of the river which is then swollen and rapid. Yet the heat of summer is described as oppressive, and even the wind is sometimes heated.

The Gurmseer, on the lower Helmund, receives its name from the heat of its climate. Candahar has a hot climate. No snow falls in winter; and the little ice that is formed on the edges of the streams melts before noon. The heat of the summer is great: hot winds are not unusual; and even the fatal simoom has been known. Yet the heat is said not to be disagreeable to the feelings, and the climate is famous for its salubrity.

In proceeding east from Candahar, the cold of the winter increases at every stage, and the heat of the summer diminishes in the same proportion. Even at Kelauti Ghiljie snow falls often, and lies long, and the Turnuk is often frozen so as to bear a man. The summer also is cool, and hot winds are unknown. It is to be remembered that Kelaut is in the lowest part of the valley of the Turnuk. In the high tract to the south of that valley, the cold appears to be as great as in any part of Afghaunistaun; at Kellaee Abdooreheem, the snow lies for three or four months, and all that time the streams are frozen so as to bear a man on horseback. Ascending the valley of the Turnuk, we at last reach the level of Ghuznee, which is generally mentioned as the coldest part of the plain coun-

try in the Caubul dominions. The cold of Ghuznee is spoken of as excessive, even by the inhabitants of the cold countries in its neighbourhood. For the greater part of the winter the inhabitants seldom quit their houses; and even in the city of Ghuznee the snow has been known to lie deep for some time after the vernal equinox. Traditions prevail of the city having been twice destroyed by falls of snow, in which all the inhabitants were buried. The climate of the flat country to the south of Ghuznee seems little more mild than that of the city itself. In Kuttawauz the snow is very deep for upwards of three months, and is frozen over so, that men can travel on it without sinking. The streams are frozen, and for part of the winter will bear even loaded camels. The summer is scarce so hot as that of England, and only one harvest is reaped in the year. In the country of the Kharotees the cold is still more severe. It is considerable in the other districts among the branches of Solimaun, but diminishes as we get towards the south. To the north of Ghuznee, the cold diminishes as we recede from that city till we reach the Cohdaumun and Cohistaun, north of Caubul, where the cold increases, and continues to increase as the country rises towards the ridge of Hindoo Coosh. Caubul itself, being lower than Ghuznee, and more enclosed by hills, appears not to suffer so much from cold. The cold of the winter, if not greater, is more steady than that of England; but the summer is hotter than ours, so much so, that the people are unwilling to expose themselves to the sun in that season. The great difference between the seasons, and the quickness with which they change, has a striking effect on the cus-

toms of the inhabitants. In winter, the people are all clad in woollen garments, and in some places in clothes of felt, over which they universally wear a large great-coat of well-tanned sheep-skin, with the long shaggy wool inside. They have fires in their houses, and often sleep round stoves, with their legs and part of their bodies covered by large pieces of tanned sheep-skin, which are thrown over the stove, so as to confine the heat. They seldom leave their houses, unless when urgent business requires, or when the young men go to hunt wolves in the snow. But when the vernal equinox is past, the snow suddenly disappears, the country is covered with young grass, the buds burst forth, and are soon followed by a profusion of flowers. The inhabitants leave their towns, and spread over the country on parties of business or pleasure. They change their winter raiment for a thin dress of chintz or cotton, and often sleep at night under trees, or in the open air. The nourooz, or vernal equinox, has always been a time of great rejoicing in these countries; but the Persians having ingrafted some fable about Ali, the patron of their religious sect, upon this ancient festival, it has fallen into disrepute with the Mussulmauns of the opposite belief; and the observance of it is only preserved by its conformity to nature, and by the arrival of the joyous season which it was intended to celebrate.*

* I cannot refrain from adding an account of the climate of Caubul, from the commentaries of the Emperor Bauber, a work not more remarkable from the character of its author, and the simplicity and spirit of its style, than for the accuracy with which it describes the countries which were the scenes of the Emperor's conquests.

"The cold and hot countries are very near to each other at this place. One day's journey from Caubul, you may find a place where

I can say little of the winds of Afghaunistaun. A strong northerly or north-westerly wind blows through the whole of Toorkistaun and Khorassaun for a period of one hundred and twenty days. It begins about the middle of summer, and its commencement and duration are counted on by the natives with the greatest confidence.

The prevailing winds throughout the Afghaun country are from the west. It is a general remark among the natives, that westerly winds are cold, and easterly winds hot. It is also said that easterly winds bring clouds, and westerly winds shed the contents of them. A pestilential wind, called simoom, is known in some of the hot parts of the country. It sometimes blows on the plain of Peshawer, in Bajour, and in the valley of the Caubul river. It is known in the south of the Dooraunee country, and even in Shawl; but, in general, it is unknown in the cold climates. It is said never to blow except in bare countries, and never to last above a few minutes at a time. Its approach is

snow never falls; and in two hours' journey, a place where the snow scarcely ever melts. The air is delightful. I not believe there is another place like Caubul in the world. One cannot sleep there in summer without a posteen.(a) In winter, though there is so much snow, the cold is not excessive. Samarcand and Tauris are famous for their climate; but they are not to be compared to Caubul. The fruits of cold climates, grapes, pomegranates, apricots, apples, quinces, peaches, pears, plums, almonds, and walnuts, are abundant.(b) I planted a cherry-tree myself at Caubul: it grew very well, and was thriving when I left it. Oranges and citrons come in plenty from Lughmaun. I caused sugar-cane to be planted at Caubul, &c."

(a) A sheep-skin cloak. The Emperor seems to have a little exaggerated the coolness of the nights at Caubul.

(b) Cherries are now common at Caubul.

discovered by a particular smell, which gives sufficient warning to a person acquainted with it to allow of his running into shelter till the simoom has passed over. When a man is caught in it, it generally occasions instant death. The sufferer falls senseless, and blood bursts from his mouth, nose, and ears. His life is sometimes saved by administering a strong acid, or by immersing him in water. The people in places where the simoom is frequent eat garlic, and rub their lips and noses with it when they go out in the heat of summer, to prevent their suffering by the simoom. This wind is said to blast trees in its passage; and the hydrophobia which affects the wolves, jackals, and dogs in some parts of the country, is attributed to it.

To sum up the character of the climate of the whole country, Afghaunistaun must be pronounced dry, and little subject to rain, clouds, or fogs. Its annual heat, on an average of different places, is greater than that of England, and less than that of India. The difference of temperature between summer and winter, and even between day and night, is greater than in either of those countries. Judging from the size, strength, and activity of the inhabitants, we should pronounce the climate favourable to the human constitution, and many parts of the country are certainly remarkable for their salubrity; but, on an inspection of facts, it appears doubtful whether the diseases of Afghaunistaun are not more fatal than those of India. Yet those diseases are not numerous, and few of them are of those descriptions which make most havoc in other countries. Fevers and agues are common in autumn, and are also felt in spring. Colds

are very troublesome, and sometimes dangerous in winter. The small-pox carries off many persons, though inoculation has long been practised by the Moollahs and Syuds in the most remote parts of the kingdom. Ophthalmia is common. These are the principal disorders of Afghaunistaun.

CHAPTER VI.

ANIMALS, VEGETABLES, AND MINERALS OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

I CAN by no means pretend to give a full account of the animals of the countries I am describing. I shall only mention a few that I have heard of, without taking it upon me to say that I have not omitted more than I have stated.

The lion, though so common in Persia, and lately found in such numbers in Guzerat and in the Hurriana, north-west of Dehli, is very rare in Afghaunistaun. The only place where I have heard of lions, is in the hilly country about Caubul, and there they are small and weak, compared to the African lion. I even doubt whether they are lions.

Tigers are found in most of the countries east of the range of Solimaun, and it is there that leopards are most common. They are, however, to be met with in most of the woody parts of Afghaunistaun.

Wolves, hyænas, jackals, foxes, and hares, are common every where. The wolves are particularly formidable during the winter in cold countries, when they form into troops, frequently destroy cattle, and sometimes even attack men. Hyænas never hunt in bodies, but they will sometimes attack a bullock singly; and both they and the wolves always make

great havoc among the sheep. Hares are kept for the market at Caubul, and two sell for a rupee.

Bears are very common in all the woody mountains, but they seldom quit their haunts, except where sugar-cane is planted, which tempts them into the cultivation. They are of two kinds, one of which is the black bear of India, the other is of a dirty white, or rather of a yellow colour.

Wild boars abound in Persia and India, but are rare in Caubul; and the wild ass appears to be confined to the Dooraunee country, the Gurmseer, and the sandy country south of Candahar. Many kinds of deer, in which the elk is included, are found in all the mountains: but antelopes are rare, and confined to the plains. The wild sheep and wild goat are common in the eastern hills. The most remarkable of the deer species is one which I think is called *Pauzen* in Persian. It is remarkable for the size of its horns, and for the strong, but not disagreeable smell of its body. The vulgar believe that it lives on snakes; and a hard green substance, about the size of a Windsor bean, is found in some part of it, which is reckoned an infallible cure for the bite of a serpent.

The only wild animals that I have heard of, besides those already mentioned, are porcupines, hedgehogs, and monkeys, (which last are only found in the north-east part of Afghaunistaun) mungooses,* ferrets, and wild dogs. Moles are only found in Cashmeer. The King has a few elephants, but they are all brought from India; neither that animal nor the rhinoceros being found in any part of his own dominions.

[* The mungoose is the ichneumon.]

The horse claims the first notice of all domestic animals. A considerable number are bred in the Afghaun dominions, and those of Heraut are very fine. I have seen one or two that had the figure of the Arab, with superior size. A good breed of the Indian kind, called *Tauzee*, is also found in Bunnoo and Damaun, and excellent horses of the same sort are bred between the Hydaspes and Indus; but in general the horses of the Afghaun dominions are not remarkably good, excepting in the province of Bulkh, where they are excellent and very numerous. A very strong and useful breed of ponies, called *Yauboos*, is however reared, especially about Baumiaun. They are used to carry baggage, and can bear a great load, but do not stand a long continuance of hard work so well as mules.

Mules are little used in India, and are most wretched where they do exist. In the west of the Punjaub, however, are some better mules: those west of the Indus are better still, and they continue to improve as we get westward, though they never equal those of England. The same observations apply to the asses, and these animals are of much importance, the mules being much used in carrying the baggage of armies, and the asses being the principal means of carrying manure and other articles from one part of a farm to another, as well as of transporting the produce to market.

Camels are, however, on the whole, the animal most employed for carriage. The dromedary is found in all the plain country, but most in sandy and dry parts; this is the tall, long-legged animal common in India. The Bactrian camel (which I understand is

called *Uzhree* in Toorkee) is much more rare, and I believe is brought from the Kuzzauk country beyond the Jaxartes. He is lower by a third at least than the other, is very stout, and covered with shaggy black hair, and has two distinct humps, instead of the one bunch of the dromedary. The Boghdee camel, in the south-west of Khorassaun, is shaped like the last mentioned, but is as tall as the dromedary. Even this last varies: the dromedaries of Khorassaun being lower and stouter than those of India.

Buffaloes, which affect hot and moist countries, are naturally rare; they are, however, to be found in many parts of Afghaunistaun.

The ox is used to plough all over the Caubul dominions, unless, perhaps, in Bulkh, where horses are so common. The species resembles the ox of India in having a hump, but it is inferior in most respects. Oxen are imported from the Raujpoot country, where there are the best in India, except perhaps Guzerat. No herds of oxen are kept, except round the lake of Seestaun, and, according to some accounts, in part of the Cauker country.

The great stock of the pastoral tribes is sheep, and those of the kind called in Persian *Doomba*, and remarkable for tails a foot broad, and almost entirely composed of fat. This kind in other respects resembles the English sheep, and is both handsomer and better than that of India. The Indian species, which has not the fat tail, is the only sort in Sind and Seestaun.

Goats are common in all the mountainous parts of the country, and are by no means scarce in the

plains. Some breeds have remarkably long and curiously twisted horns.

The dogs of Afghaunistaun deserve to be mentioned. The greyhounds are excellent; they are bred in great numbers, particularly among the pastoral tribes, who are much attached to hunting. What is more remarkable, pointers resembling our own in shape and quality, are by no means uncommon, though I cannot ascertain from whence the breed was procured. They are called Khundee. I had two, one of which was a very fine one; and another gentleman had one that would have been much admired in any country.

The cats must also be noticed, at least the long-haired species, called Boorauk, as they are exported in great numbers, and everywhere called Persian cats, though they are not numerous in the country from which they are named, and are seldom or never exported thence.

A simple enumeration may suffice for the few birds I can remember. There are two or three sorts of eagles, and many kinds of hawks; among which are the gentle falcon, which is the best of all; the large, grey, short-winged bird, called *Bauz* in Persian, and *Kuzzil* in Turkish, which I believe is the goshawk; the shauheen, which is taught to soar over the falconer's head, and strike the quarry as it rises; the chirk, which is taught to strike the antelope, and to fasten on its head, and retard it till the greyhounds come up; and several other kinds. Nor is there any want of game for hawking; herons, cranes, and storks are common, as are wild ducks and geese, swans, partridges, quails, and a bird which is called Cupk

by the Persians and Afghauns, and the hill Chikore by the Indians, and which I understand is known in Europe by the name of the Greek Partridge. There is a smaller bird called Soosee, which has a resemblance to that last mentioned, and which I have never heard of but in Afghaunistaun. Pigeons, doves, crows, sparrows, &c., are common to all countries: cuckoos which are rare, and magpies which are unknown in India, are abundant in the cold climates of Afghaunistaun, while peacocks, so common in India, are there only to be found domesticated as in England; and parrots and mynas (*Coracias Indica*) are only found in the east.

The reptiles do not call for much notice. The snakes are mostly innocent; the scorpions of Peshawer are notorious for their size and venom, yet their bite is seldom or never fatal. I have not heard much of the fishes of the country. There are no crocodiles. Turtles are common, as are tortoises.

Great flights of locusts are not of frequent occurrence, yet the few famines that have been felt in Khorassaun were occasioned by their devastations. Bees are common in these countries, especially to the east of the range of Solimaun, but are domesticated in Cashmeer alone. Mosquitoes are less troublesome than in India, except in Seestaun, where they are very formidable: the inhabitants are there obliged to have mosquitoe curtains, as in Bengal; and either these animals, or a sort of gad-fly, often harass horses till they pine and die.

It is still more difficult to give an account of the vegetables than of the animals, when neither have been examined by any person conversant with natural

history. Of the great number of trees unknown in Europe, which are common in India, very few are to be found east of the range of Solimaun, and perhaps none west; on the other hand, many of our own European trees are common in Afghaunistaun, and most of our finest fruits grow wild in different parts of that country. These are also common in gardens and orchards. The commonest trees in the mountains are pines of different kinds, one of which, the Jelgoozeh, is remarkable for cones larger than artichokes, and containing seeds resembling pistachio nuts. Two kinds of oaks (one of which is that called by botanists Quercus Beloot),* cedars and a sort of gigantic cypress, are also among the natives of the mountains; as are the walnut and the wild olive. The western hills abound in a tree called *Wunna* (a word also used generally for a tree), which bears an eatable berry known by the name of *Shnee*. I believe some of the hills also produce the birch, the holly, and the hazel; as they do mastich, a tree called *Khunjud*, and one called *Oolooshtye* in Pushtoo, and *Wisk* in Persian. The pistachio tree also grows wild in Hindoo Coosh. On the plains the commonest wild trees are the mulberry, the tamarisk, and the willow (of which we may distinguish the weeping willow, the palm, and two sorts called by the natives the red and the green willow). The plane and the poplar are also common on plains; as are the trees called *Seeahchob*, *Purra*, *Bulkhuk*, and *Zurung*, which I have never seen, and have not been able to recognise from description.

* I have taken all the botanical names I have had occasion to use from Dr. Hunter's Hindostaunee Dictionary.

Many bushes may also be mentioned. The barberry, the *Kurounda* (Carissa Carounda), and other bushes, which bear eatable berries, such as the *Umlook*, the *Goorgooreh*, &c. are common in the hills, as are wild grapes; but of all the shrubs, the most celebrated is the Arghawaun, which, though it bears the same name with the anemone, grows to such a height as almost to entitle it to the name of a tree.

The English flowers, roses, jessamines, poppies, narcissuses, hyacinths, tuberoses, stock, &c. &c. are found in gardens, and many of them wild. Other vegetables will be mentioned hereafter, in describing the places where they grow.

I need scarcely give a separate chapter to the minerals, concerning which I only possess a few particulars, picked out of Mr. Irvine's report, to which also I am much indebted in the two last heads.

Gold does not seem to be found in Afghaunistaun, except in the streams that flow from the Hindoo Coosh range. The fable which is current respecting vegetable gold, said to be produced in the country of the Eusofzyes, no doubt arises from the particles washed into the fields by those streams. Silver is found in small quantities in the country of the Caufirs. Rubies are found in Budukhshaun, but not in the Afghaun side of Hindoo Coosh: whole cliffs of lapis lazuli, however, overhang the river of Kaushkaur, between Chitraul and the Eusofzye country.

There are mines of lead and antimony mixed in the country of the Afreedees, and in that of the Hazaurehs; and of lead alone in Upper Bungush, and in the countries of the Shainwaurees, Kaukers, Hazaurehs, and Eimauks, as well as in the province of Bulkh.

The country of the Vizeerees abounds in iron, as does Bajour and the adjoining hills, where there are also indications of copper. Sulphur is found in Bulkh and in Seestaun. The greatest plaçe for salt has been mentioned: rock salt is also found in Bulkh, and salt is made from springs and ponds in Khorassaun. Saltpetre is made every where from the soil. Alum is got from the clay at Calla-baugh, and orpiment is found in Bulkh and in the Hazaureh country.

BOOK II.

GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE INHABITANTS OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION, ORIGIN, AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE AFGHAUNS.

The description which I have attempted of the country of the Afghauns has been rendered difficult by the great variety of the regions to be described, and by the diversity even of contiguous tracts. No less a diversity will be discovered in the people who inhabit it; and, amidst the contrasts that are apparent in the government, manners, dress, and habits of the different tribes, I find it difficult to select those great features, which all possess in common, and which give a marked national character to the whole of the Afghauns. This difficulty is increased by the fact, that those qualities which distinguish them from all their neighbours are by no means the same which, without reference to such a comparison, would appear to Europeans to predominate in their character. The freedom which forms their grand distinction among the nations of the East, might seem to an Englishman a mixture of anarchy and arbitrary power; and the manly virtues that raise them above their neigh-

bours, might sink in his estimation almost to the level of the opposite defects. It may, therefore, assist in appreciating their situation and character to figure the aspects they would present to a traveller from England, and to one from India.

If a man could be transported from England to the Afghaun country, without passing through the dominions of Turkey, Persia, or Tartary, he would be amazed at the wild and unfrequented desarts, and the mountains, covered with perennial snow. Even in the cultivated part of the country, he would discover a wild assemblage of hills and wastes, unmarked by enclosures, not embellished by trees, and destitute of navigable canals, public roads, and all the great and elaborate productions of human industry and refinement. He would find the towns few, and far distant from each other; and he would look in vain for inns or other conveniences, which a traveller would meet with in the wildest parts of Great Britain. Yet he would sometimes be delighted with the fertility and populousness of particular plains and valleys, where he would see the productions of Europe mingled in profusion with those of the torrid zone, and the land laboured with an industry and a judgment nowhere surpassed. He would see the inhabitants following their flocks in tents, or assembled in villages, to which the terraced roofs and mud walls give an appearance entirely new. He would be struck at first with their high and even harsh features, their sun-burned countenances, their long beards, their loose garments, and their shaggy mantles of skins. When he entered into the society, he would notice the absence of regular courts of justice, and of every

thing like an organized police. He would be surprised at the fluctuation and instability of the civil institutions. He would find it difficult to comprehend how a nation could subsist in such disorder; and would pity those who were compelled to pass their days in such a scene, and whose minds were trained by their unhappy situation to fraud and violence, to rapine, deceit, and revenge. Yet he would scarce fail to admire their martial and lofty spirit, their hospitality, and their bold and simple manners, equally removed from the suppleness of a citizen and the awkward rusticity of a clown; and he would probably, before long, discover, among so many qualities that excited his disgust, the rudiments of many virtues.

But an English traveller from India, would view them with a more favourable eye. He would be pleased with the cold climate, elevated by the wild and novel scenery, and delighted by meeting many of the productions of his native land. He would first be struck with the thinness of the fixed population, and then with the appearance of the people; not fluttering in white muslins, while half their bodies are naked, but soberly and decently attired in dark-coloured woollen clothes, and wrapped up in brown mantles, or in large sheep-skin cloaks. He would admire their strong and active forms, their fair complexions and European features, their industry and enterprise, the hospitality, sobriety, and contempt of pleasure which appear in all their habits; and, above all, the independence and energy of their character. In India, he would have left a country where every movement originates in the government or its agents,

and where the people absolutely go for nothing; and he would find himself among a nation where the control of the government is scarcely felt, and where every man appears to pursue his own inclinations, undirected and unrestrained. Amidst the stormy independence of this mode of life, he would regret the ease and security in which the state of India, and even the indolence and timidity of its inhabitants, enable most parts of that country to repose. He would meet with many productions of art and nature that do not exist in India; but, in general, he would find the arts of life less advanced, and many of the luxuries of Hindoostaun unknown. On the whole, his impression of his new acquaintances would be favourable; and although he would feel that, without having lost the ruggedness of a barbarous nation, they were tainted with the vices common to all Asiatics, yet he would reckon them virtuous, compared with the people to whom he had been accustomed, would be inclined to regard them with interest and kindness, and could scarcely deny them a portion of his esteem.

Such would be the impressions made on an European, and an Indian traveller, by their ordinary intercourse with the Afghauns. When they began to investigate their political constitution, both would be alike perplexed with its apparent inconsistencies and contradictions, and with the union which it exhibits of turbulent independence and gross oppression. But the former would, perhaps, be most struck with the despotic pretensions of the general government, and the latter with the democratic licence which prevails in the government of the tribes.

Let us now try whether, in a particular examination of the history and present condition of the Afghauns, some of the features exhibited in these two pictures will not be softened down, and some apparent inconsistencies reconciled; but, throughout the whole, let it be borne in mind, that although I have endeavoured to measure them by the scale which will be applied in Europe, yet the first and most natural process by which I estimated their character was a comparison with their Indian and Persian neighbours.

The origin of the name of Afghaun, now so generally applied to the nation I am about to describe, is entirely uncertain; but is, probably, modern. It is known to the Afghauns themselves only through the medium of the Persian language. Their own name for their nation is Pooshtoon; in the plural, Pooshtauneh. The Berdooraunees pronounce this word Pookhtauneh; whence the name of Pitan, by which the Afghauns are known in India, may probably be derived.

The Arabs call them Solimaunee; but, whether from their possessing the mountains of Solimaun, from the name of some chief who may have headed them when first invaded by the Arabs, or from some circumstance connected with their supposed descent from the Jews, is entirely uncertain. They have no general name for their own country, but sometimes apply the Persian one of Afghaunistaun. Doctor Leyden has mentioned the name of Pooshtoonkhau, as bearing this sense; but I never heard it used. The term Sirhud is sometimes made use of, but excludes the plains on the eastern side of the range of Solimaun; and is, in fact, nothing more than the Persian word for a cold country. The name most generally applied

to the whole country by its inhabitants is *Khorassaun ;* but this appellation is obviously incorrect ; for, on the one hand, the whole of the Afghaun country is not included within the strict limits of Khorassaun ; and, on the other, a considerable part of that province is not inhabited by Afghauns.*

I know very little of the early history of the Afghauns. Their own accounts of their origin, appear to me to be fabulous ; and I shall therefore state the few facts to be found in foreign historians, before I proceed to those recorded or invented by themselves.†

All accounts agree that they inhabited the mountains of Ghore at a very remote period, and they seem early to have possessed the mountains of Solimaun ; which term, in its most extended sense, comprehends all the southern mountains of Afghaunistaun. They also appear by Ferishta, to have been established in the north-eastern mountains of Afghaunistaun in the ninth century. At that period, the greater part of

* In some English books, I have seen the Afghaun country called Roh ; a word, which I understand means a hill in Punjauby, and which is only known to some of the Afghauns through the medium of books written in India.

† A diligent search into the Persian and Arabian histories would probably furnish more information concerning the antiquities of this people, and would, at least, enable us to trace the history of their country from the time of Mahmood of Ghuznee ; but the necessary books are difficult to be procured, and would take a long time to explore. As I may have to refer hereafter to many facts in Asiatic history, I take this opportunity of acknowledging that I have scarcely any acquaintance with the writers on that subject but what I have derived from a few of those which have been translated into English or French, and a still smaller number into Persian and Pushtoo, which relate exclusively to the Afghauns.

the nation is said by the same author to have been subject to the Arabian dynasty of Samaunee. The Afghauns seem to have furnished a large part, and probably the principal part, of the army of Mahmood, and the other Ghuznevide Kings; but those who inhabited the mountains of Ghore, retained their independence, and were governed by a King of their own, who drew his descent through a long line of sovereigns from Zohauk, one of the earliest Kings of Persia. This genealogy, though asserted by Meer Khonde, and confirmed by Ferishta, may be considered as doubtful, at least; but it is certain that the princes of Ghore belonged to the Afghaun tribe of Sooree, and that their dynasty was allowed to be of very great antiquity even in the eleventh century. Their principal cities seem to have been Ghore, Feeroozcoh, and perhaps Baumeean.*

* The last of these places is still the seat of a government to the north-west of Caubul. Feeroozcoh may be presumed to have given its name to the Eimauks of Feeroozcohee; and, from the position of their residence, we should place it to the east of Heraut. But there are three Ghorees, all within the borders of the Paropamisan mountains, and it is not very obvious which of the three was the seat of the Ghoree Kings. The first is to the south-east of Bulkh; the second, north-west of Ghuznee; and the third, east of Furrah. The few native opinions I have heard fix on the last mentioned place; and I am strongly inclined to agree with them, from the consideration of a passage in D'Herbelot (Article Gaiatheddin), where one of the Kings of Ghore is said to have reduced "Raver and Kermessir, which separate Ghore from Hindoostaun." These countries must, therefore, have lain to the east of Ghore. As *k* and *g* are expressed by the same letter in Persian, there can be no doubt that Gurmseer or Gurmeseer is meant by the second of these words; and Raver probably means the adjoining district of Dawer, or Zemeen Dawer (the land of Dawer). The close resemblance between the Persian *d*

There are different accounts of the religion of the Afghauns of Ghore. Some say they were converted to the Mahommedan faith soon after the Prophet; while others maintain that they were idolaters in the tenth century. The idols and caves of Baumeeaun appear to establish that the inhabitants of that country were at one time worshippers of Boodh.

This people was governed, in the reign of Mahmood of Ghuzni, by a prince named Mahommed, who was defeated and taken prisoner by that conqueror. His descendants suffered many injuries from the house of Ghuznee till the middle of the twelfth century, when they at last took up arms, defeated and dethroned the King of Ghuznee, and burnt that magnificent capital to the ground. They afterwards continued to extend their empire, and by degrees reduced under their government the whole of the present kingdom of Caubul, India, Bulkh, Budukhshaun, and a great part of Khorassaun.

From that time till the invasion of Bauber, a period of three centuries, different dynasties of Afghauns reigned, with some interruptions, over India; but the other dominions of the house of Ghore were early wrested from them by the King of Khwarizm,

and *r*, may have led to this mistake, which has been carefully copied by other orientalists. Certain it is that the names of Raver and Kermessir are not now to be found. Now of the three Ghorees, that near Furrah alone is to the west of Gurmseer and Dawer, and consequently it alone can be said to be separated from Hindoostaun by those districts. [Mr. Conolly heard at Tootee Gusserman (about half-way from Heraut to Girishk) that the ruins of Ghore were about thirty-five miles north of that place; and this situation agrees so well with what is said of Ghore in history, that I have no doubt it is near the true one.—1838.]

from whom they were conquered by Jengheez Khaun, and the tribe of Sooree is now reduced to a few families in Damaun.*

During the government of the descendants of Jengheez, and of Tamerlane, and his offspring, the Afghauns appear to have maintained their independence in the mountains; and at the time of Bauber they seem to have been unconnected with all foreign powers. Bauber, the descendant of Timour, and the ancestor of the Great Moguls, began his career by the conquest of Caubul, which was his capital till the end of his reign. On his death, Caubul remained subject to one of his sons, while the other was expelled from India by Sheer Shauh, who founded another Afghaun dynasty, of no long duration. At last the house of Timour was firmly established in India: the capital of their empire was transferred from Caubul to Dehli; and the plains of Afghaunistaun were divided between the empires of Hindoostan and Persia, but the mountains were never subjected to either.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Afghaun tribe of Ghiljie founded an empire which included all Persia, and extended on the west to the present limits of the Russian and Turkish empires. Part only of Afghaunistaun, however, acknowledged

* [They seem, however, to have temporarily recovered their territory; for, within one hundred years after the death of Jengheez, we find Mahommed Sam Ghoree defending Heraut against a descendant of that conqueror (*D'Oheon*, Vol. iv. page 515, &c); and Tamerlane, in the fifteenth century, mentions Gheians-oo-deen, son of Moez-oo deen Ghoree as possessing Khorassaun, Ghore, and Ghurjistaun.—(*Malfuzát Timurí*, page 145.) Sam, Gheians-oo-deen, and Moez-oo deen, are all family names of the original dynasty.—1838.]

their dominion. Naudir Shauh overthrew this dynasty, and annexed most of Afghaunistaun to Persia; and, on his death, the present Afghaun monarchy was founded; which, at its height, extended from the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea to that of the river Jumna, and from the Oxus to the Indian ocean.

After this cursory notice of the facts relating to the Afghauns, which are ascertained by authentic history, we may now examine what they say of themselves. The account they give of their own origin, is worthy of attention, and has already attracted the notice of an eminent orientalist. They maintain that they are descended from Afghaun, the son of Irmia, or Berkia, son of Saul, King of Israel; and all their histories of their nation begin with relating the transaction of the Jews from Abraham down to the captivity. Their narrative of those transactions appears to agree with that of the other Mahommedans; and though interspersed with some wild fables, does not essentially differ from Scripture. After the captivity, they allege that part of the children of Afghaun withdrew to the mountains of Ghore, and part to the neighbourhood of Mecca in Arabia.

So far this account is by no means destitute of probability. It is known that ten of the twelve tribes remained in the east after the return of their brethren to Judea; and the supposition that the Afghauns are their descendants, explains easily and naturally both the disappearance of the one people, and the origin of the other. The rest of the story is confirmed by the fact, that the Jews were very numerous in Arabia at the time of Mahommed, and that the principal division of them bore the appellation of Khyber, which is

still the name of a district in Afghaunistaun, if not of an Afghaun tribe. The theory is plausible, and may be true; but when closely examined it will appear to rest on a vague tradition alone; and even that tradition is clouded with many inconsistencies and contradictions.

The Afghaun historians proceed to relate, that the children of Israel, both in Ghore and in Arabia, preserved their knowledge of the unity of God, and the purity of their religious belief, and that on the appearance of the last and greatest of the prophets (Mahommed), the Afghauns of Ghore listened to the invitation of their Arabian brethren, the chief of whom was Khauled (or Câled), the son of Waleed, so famous for his conquest of Syria, and marched to the aid of the true faith, under the command of Kyse, afterwards surnamed Abdoolresheed. The Arabian historians, on the contrary, bring the descent of Khauled from a well known tribe of their own nation, omit the name of Kyse in their lists of the Prophet's companions, or allies,* and are entirely silent on the subject of the Afghaun succours. Even the Afghaun historians, although they describe their countrymen as a numerous people during their Arabian campaign, and though it appears from a sarcasm attributed by those historians to the Prophet (who declared Pushtoo to be the language of hell), that they already spoke their national and peculiar tongue, yet do not scruple in another place to derive the whole nation from the loins of the very Kyse who commanded during the period of the above transactions.

If any other argument were required to disprove

* Ansaur "Assisters"

this part of the history, it is furnished by the Afghaun historians themselves, who state that Saul was the forty-fifth in descent from Abraham, and Kyse the thirty-seventh from Saul. The first of these genealogies is utterly inconsistent with those of the Sacred Writings, and the second allows only thirty-seven generations for a period of sixteen hundred years.* If to these facts we add, that Saul had no son named either Irmia or Berkia, and that if the existence of his grandson Afghaun be admitted, no trace of that Patriarch's *name* remains among his descendants, and if we consider the easy faith with which all rude nations receive accounts favourable to their own antiquity, I fear we must class the descent of the Afghauns from the Jews with that of the Romans, and the British from the Trojans, and that of the Irish from the Milesians or the Bramins.†

* This number is from the Taureekhee, Sheer Shauhee. The Taureekhee Morussa gives a much greater number, but then it introduces forty-five generations between Abraham and Jacob.

† This subject is briefly discussed by Sir William Jones, in a Note on a Translation by Mr. Vansittart (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II. Article IV.) That elegant scholar is inclined to believe this supposed descent, which he strengthens by four reasons.

His first argument is drawn from the resemblance of the name of Hazaureh to Arsareth, the country whither the Jews are said by Esdras to have retired; but this reasoning, which was never very satisfactory, is destroyed by the fact, that the Hazaurehs are a *nation* who have but recently occupied and given their name to a part of Afghaunistaun. The second argument is built on the traditions examined in the text, and on the assertion of Persian historians, probably derived from those traditions, and at no time very deserving of faith.

The third is founded on the Jewish names of the Afghauns; but those they probably have derived from the Arabs, like all other Ma-

hommedan nations. Their most ancient names have no resemblance to those of the Jews.

The last argument is founded on a supposed resemblance between the Pushtoo and Chaldaic languages, of which the reader will hereafter be enabled to judge. Many points of resemblance between the manners of the Afghauns and those of the Jews might be adduced, but such a similarity is usual between nations in the same stage of society; and if it were admitted as a proof of identity, the Tartars and the Arabs, the Germans and the Russians, might be proved to be the same. It is also maintained by more than one European writer, that the Afghauns are a Caucasian tribe, and particularly that they are descended from the Armenians. In the extent sometimes allowed to the name of Caucasus, the Afghauns still inhabit that celebrated mountain; but if it be meant that they ever lived to the west of the Caspian Sea, the assertion appears to be unsupported by proof. Their Armenian descent is utterly unknown to themselves, though constantly in the mouths of the Armenians; and the story told by the latter people, of the Afghauns having become Mussulmauns to avoid the long fasts prescribed by their own church, is too inconsistent with history to deserve a moment's consideration. I may add, that I have compared a short Armenian vocabulary with the Pushtoo, and could perceive no resemblance between the languages; and that I once read a good deal of a Pushtoo vocabulary to a well-informed Armenian, who, though he strenuously asserted the descent of the Afghauns from his countrymen, yet owned that he could not discover a word common to their language and his own. I have not had the same advantage with the languages of other Caucasian tribes, but I compared about two hundred and fifty Georgian words with the corresponding ones in Pushtoo, and nothing could be more different; and I know no ground for connecting the Afghauns with the western Caucasus, except the assertion of a German traveller, whose name I forget, that he saw Afghauns there during the last century, which proves too much.

[Ferishta mentions that Kyse, the son of Haushem, and Huneef, the son of Kyse, where two of the earliest Arab commanders in Khorassaun (*Briggs's Ferishta*, Vol. i. page 3). He also states that Khauled, *the son of Abdoollah*, being afraid to return to Arabia, settled in the hills of Solimaun, and gave his daughter to a converted Afghaun chief (page 5). It was probably by these facts that the names of Kyse and Khauled were suggested to the Afghaun author, who

first thought of ennobling his nation by connecting it with that of the Prophet.

I may here notice, that none of the ancient Afghaun names bear the slightest resemblance either to those of the Arabs *or the Jews.* The progenitors of the four great divisions of the nation were Serrabun, Ghoorghoosht, Betnee, and Kurleh or Kuraunee. The tribes immediately sprung from those are Abdaul, Ghiljie, Khukhye, Cauker, &c, &c.; and it is not till more recent subdivisions that we find Euzofzyes, Mahommedzyes, Solimaun Khail, and other Arabic and Hebrew derivatives. Professor Dorn, of Kharkov, who has translated a History of the Afghauns, and added many learned notes, discusses severally the theories that have been maintained of the descent of the Afghauns. 1st, from the Copts; 2nd, the Jews; 3rd, the Georgians; 4th, the Toorks; 5th, the Moguls; 6th, the Armenians: and he mentions more cursorily the opinions that they are descended from the Indo-Scythians, Medians, Sogdians, Persians, and Indians: on considering all which, he comes to the rational conclusion, that they cannot be traced to any tribe or country beyond their present seats, and the adjoining mountains.—1838.]

CHAPTER II.

DIVISIONS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE AFGHAUN NATION.

Whatever doubts may be entertained of the pedigree, and even of the existence of Kyse Abdooresheed, it is to him that all the Afghaun genealogies refer, and on those genealogies the whole of the divisions and interior government of the tribes depend. As each tribe has a government of its own, and constitutes a complete commonwealth within itself, it may be well to examine the rise and present situation of those commonwealths, before we proceed to consider them as composing one state, or one confederacy, under a common sovereign.

From the four sons of Kyse, Serrabun, Ghoorghoosht, Betnee, and Kurleh, sprung the four great divisions of the Afghauns, which still bear their names. The Afghaun tribes are the families of the descendants of these four, and each bears the name of its immediate progenitor.

Taking the descent of the Afghauns from one ancestor for granted, it is probable that, as long as the number of families was small, they were all under the direction of their common progenitor: that as they grew more numerous, the four great divisions separated, and were each under the head of its eldest branch, but that when the nation spread over an ex-

tensive country, and the tribes of the same division began to be remote from each other, their connection loosened, and each tribe at last remained under its own hereditary chief, entirely independent of the common head of the race.

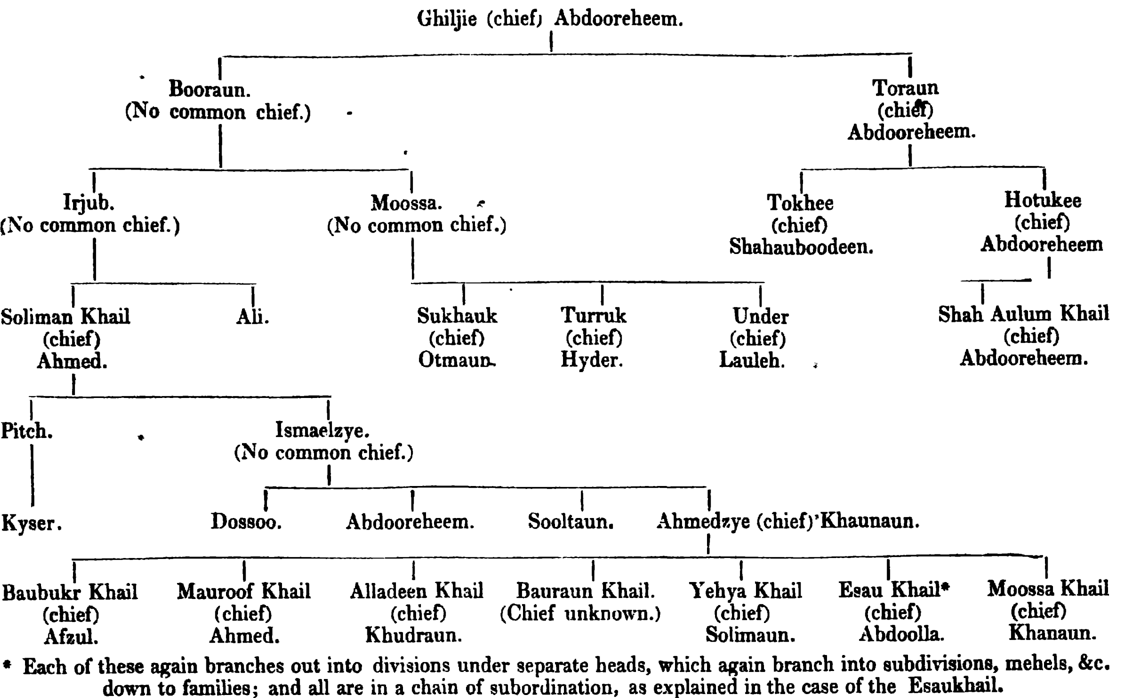
The four original divisions are now disused, and are only mentioned in the genealogies of the tribes.

The tribes continue in a great measure unmixed (each having its territory compact). They still retain the patriarchal government I have alluded to, and the operation of the principle which I suppose to have separated them, is still very observable. Each tribe has branched into several divisions, and in the more numerous and the more scattered tribes, those branches have separated, and are each governed by its own independent chief; they, however, retain the common name, and an idea of community of blood and interests.

The name of Oolooss is applied either to a whole tribe, or to one of these independent branches. The word seems to mean a clannish commonwealth. An Oolooss is divided into several branches, each under its own chief, who is subordinate to the chief of the Oolooss. These branches are again divided, and this operation is repeated (more or less often according to the size of the Oolooss), till the last subdivision contains but a few families. Each subdivision has its chief man, subordinate to the chief of the division in which it is comprehended.

Each of these branches has its proper name taken from its own immediate ancestor.*

* This will be made more obvious by a tree, representing the descent of a division of the Ghiljies, with their government as it actually



* Each of these again branches out into divisions under separate heads, which again branch into subdivisions, mehels, &c. down to families; and all are in a chain of subordination, as explained in the case of the Esaukhail.

The chief of an Oolooss is called Khaun. He is always chosen from the oldest family of the Oolooss. In most cases the selection rests with the King, who can remove a Khaun at pleasure, appointing one of his relations in his stead. In some Ooloosses, the Khaun is elected by the people. In both cases, some attention is paid to primogeniture; but more to age, experience, and character. This unsettled succession occasions many disputes. When the Khaun dies, two or more of his sons or nephews endeavour to make parties in the tribe, to conciliate the King by promises of contribution or attachment, and to bribe

exists. It is, however, to be observed, that although the head of the oldest family is still chief of the Ghiljies, and though the smallest and most recent subdivisions have all their chiefs, yet the members of some of the intermediate branches have separated from each other, and have now no common head, as in the divisions of Booraun and Izzub.

The government will be best illustrated by an example; and I shall take that of the Esaukhail division of the Solimaun Khail (see * in the opposite tree). Every family in the Esaukhail is, of course, governed by its immediate head. Every ten or twelve families are governed by their common ancestor if he be alive, or by his representative if he be dead; and these heads of a few families are called Speen Zheras or Elders (literally, white beards). Every ten or twelve Elders are subject to a Cundeedaur, or head of a Mehel, Mohulla, or Quarter, who is the representative of their common ancestor. A certain number of these compose a subdivision, ruled by the representative of the ancestor of all its members, who is called Mullik or Mooshir: several subdivisions form a division governed as before; several divisions compose the Khail, which, in the case alluded to, is under Abdoolla Khaun. The Esaukhail, and six other Khails, compose the clan of Ahmedzye, which is governed by Khaunaun Khaun, the representative of Ahmed, their common ancestor. The Ahmedzye, and three other clans, compose the Ismaelzye; but they are not under the authority of any common chief, and the head family of the Ismaelzye is extinct or neglected.

The

his ministers. The unsuccessful party continues his exertions after the successor is chosen. Sometimes, but rarely, part of the Oolooss secedes with him. More frequently he continues his intrigues at court, or stirs up open war in the Oolooss, in which he is sometimes supported by a hostile tribe. During civil wars in the nation, the unsuccessful candidate for the command of an Oolooss, joins the pretender to the throne, and is brought into power on the success of his party.

The head of a subordinate division is always elected by the people from the oldest family in it; except in the lowest subdivision, where the superiority is often natural, as when an old man is head of the ten

The sons of Ismael and those of Pitch, form the Solimaun Khail, the chief of which is Ahmed Khaun, the representative of Solimaun. There is now no head to the house of Irjub composed of the Solimaun Khail and Ali Khail, nor to that of Booraun, from which Irjub and another spring; but the chiefs of the Solimaun Khail and Ali Khail, and those of seven other clans similarly composed, all acknowledge the supremacy of Abdooreheem Khaun, the head of the eldest branch of the tribe of Ghiljie.

I beg my readers to remark, that hereafter, when I speak of the great divisions of the Afghauns, I shall call them *tribes*; and when the component parts of a tribe are mentioned with reference to the *tribe*, I shall call the first divisions *clans*: those which compose a clan, *Khails*, &c., as above. But when I am treating of one of those divisions as an independent body, I shall call it Oolooss, and its component parts *clans*, *khails*, &c., according to the relation they bear to the Oolooss, as if the latter were a tribe. Khail is a corruption of the Arabic word Khyle, a band or assemblage; and Zye, so often affixed to the names of tribes, clans, and families, means *son*, and is added as *Mac* is prefixed by the Highlanders. The term Mullik, which is applied to the head of a subdivision, means King in Arabic, and Mushir is, I apprehend, a corruption of the Arabic word Moosheer (a counsellor).

or twelve families formed by his sons, nephews, and grand-children.

The internal government of the Oolooss is carried on by the Khauns, and by assemblies of the heads of divisions. These assemblies are called Jeergas.

The Khaun presides in the principal Jeerga, which is formed by the chiefs of the great branches of Oolooss. Each of these holds his own Jeerga of the heads of divisions: these again hold their Jeergas; and the members of the lowest Jeerga are either acquainted with the sentiments of the individuals under them, or are able to persuade them to adopt their own.

In cases of little consequence, or on an emergency, the Khaun acts without consulting the Jeerga, who on similar occasions give their opinion without consulting the Jeergas below them; but in matters of importance, when circumstances will admit, the sentiments of the whole tribe are ascertained before anything is decided.

The system of government which I have described is so often deranged by circumstances like the following, that it is seldom found in full force; and must, therefore, be considered rather as the model on which all the governments of tribes are formed than a correct description of any one of them. There is probably no case where some link is not wanting in the chain of authorities, which ought to descend from the Khaun to the heads of families.* A clan, khail, or other branch, often becomes independent in all internal affairs, without throwing off all connection with

* Thus the heads of the sons of Booraun, and of those of Izzub, are wanting in the tree.

its superiors; so that it is neither subordinate as a branch of an Oolooss, nor independent as an Oolooss.

The whole constitution is also sometimes overturned. In some rare cases, the Khaun establishes arbitrary power, and acts without consulting any of the Jeergas under him; and his example is followed by the subordinate chiefs. But more frequently the chiefs are neglected, and every subdivision, every quarter, and even every family, throws off its dependence on its superiors, and acts according to its own interest or inclination. This last evil is remedied in some cases by the appointment of a temporary magistrate, chosen on account of his abilities; a sort of dictator, who has great powers during the war or other occasions, for which he is appointed; but who returns to the situation of a private person when the period of his office has expired.*

It may be worth while to remark the circumstances on which the extent of the power of the chiefs depends. In tribes that are obedient to the King, the Khaun derives much influence from his employment of collecting the royal revenue and raising the militia, and indirectly from the emoluments attached to those duties. His personal character materially affects his power and influence. The possession of wealth, by enabling him to keep numerous retainers, and to confer obligations on the heads of his Oolooss, greatly strengthens his power. On the other hand, where the tribe is small, or its inhabited lands very compact, the heads of all the divisions, great and small, often meet in one Jeerga, which, uniting the whole strength of the Oolooss, can never be con-

* See page 61, vol. ii.

trolled by the Khaun. The Khaun's having a powerful rival in his family, the facility which a discontented division may possess of seceding and joining some other Oolooss, and any circumstance which disposes the people to contentiousness and jealousy, always tend to limit the Khaun's authority. On the whole, it is generally observable that the tribes most under the King's influence are most obedient to their Khaun, though there are some striking exceptions to this rule.

Throughout all the tribes, the clanish attachment of the Afghauns, unlike that of the Highlanders, is rather to the community than to the chief; and though, in their notion of their Khaun, the idea of a magistrate set up for the public good is certainly mixed with that of a patriarchal and natural superior, yet the former impression will always be found to be the strongest. Accordingly, the power of life and death, so commonly exercised by chiefs in the Highlands, when clanship was in its vigour, is scarcely ever possessed by an Afghaun Khaun; and it is but rarely that the personal interests of the Khaun would lead a tribe to take any step inconsistent with its own honour or advantage.

The western Afghauns, with the exception of the Ghiljies in the south-east, have no quarrels with their countrymen,* but there is scarcely any tribe among those of the east that is not in a state of actual war, or suspended hostility. Most of them have lasting enmities with each other, but do not break out into

* The war for sovereignty between the Ghiljies and Dooraunees, is obviously of a different nature from the continual petty warfare here alluded to.

open violence, unless when some circumstances has inflamed their animosity, and this sometimes does not happen for several years. A few (as the Eusofzyes) are never at peace.

Those who have only occasional wars (which happens oftenest in Damaun), join in temporary confederacies, and the Jeergas of all the allied tribes meet in one assembly to concert plans of operations, or to consider terms of peace. Those most engaged in war, often have permanent alliances, like those of Garra and Saumil, among the Berdooraunees, and the black and white leagues in Khost. These wars are sometimes confined to predatory incursions of small parties on each side, but when the occasion is important, the Khaun and the Jeerga, call out all the fighting men of the Oolooss. The tribes who engage little in wars, call on volunteers, and every man who has arms comes. Those who have occasional wars, make every grown up man serve; and the Esofzyes, whose continual strife has made them systematic in war, require the service of a foot soldier for every plough, or of a horseman for every two. Shame is in general powerful enough to prevent non-attendance, but a fine is also prescribed to punish it among the tribes which have frequent wars. Large, but undisciplined bodies, are thus assembled:—a tumultuous conflict takes place: one party is defeated without any great slaughter: the victors waste the lands of their enemy; and the war is then suspended till the vanquished is able to take the field again, or, perhaps, till a new provocation is given. The troops are almost all foot. The chiefs retain the same stations of command in war as in peace.

The fighting men receive no pay; but in some tribes, if a horse is killed, the owner receives the price from a fund formed by fines, and by a tax on the tribe.

This practice is confined to the north-eastern tribes, who indeed are the only ones that have any revenue at all. Even with them taxes are only imposed when money is necessary for some purpose of public utility. Their amount depends on the sum required, and the money collected is strictly applied to public service. I do not know two instances of a Khaun taxing his Oolooss for his own benefit; but the regular tax on Humsauyehs, the infidel tax on Hindoos, and the customs collected on merchandise passing through the lands of the Oolooss, are, in several cases, appropriated by the Khaun. The two first of these imposts will be explained hereafter. They are generally collected by individuals; but the customs, though sometimes divided among the Oolooss, are more frequently received by the Khaun: they are only levied by Ooloosses little under the King, who sometimes have fixed rates, and sometimes make a bargain with the merchant; in which case the merchant may either be considered as paying duties, or as compounding with the Oolooss, to prevent being plundered.

There is scarcely a subdivision throughout the nation, which does not make its own arrangements to provide for the maintenance of Moollahs (Mahommedan priests), and for the reception of guests; but the manner in which those funds are provided, will be fully explained hereafter.

The general law of the kingdom is that of Mahommed, which is adopted in civil actions in the

Ooloosses also; but their peculiar code, and the only one applied to their *internal* administration of criminal justice, is the Pooshtoonwullee, or usage of the Afghauns; a rude system of customary law, founded on principles such as one would suppose to have prevailed before the institution of civil government.

The opinion that it is every man's right and duty to do himself justice, and to revenge his own injuries, is by no means eradicated from among the Afghauns: and the right of the society even to restrain the reasonable passions of individuals, and to take the redress of wrongs, and the punishment of crimes, into its own hands, is still very imperfectly understood; or if it is understood, is seldom present to the thoughts of the people. This practice must have had its origin at a time when the government afforded no protection to individuals, and in such circumstances it must be allowed to be beneficial, and even necessary; but it has taken root in the habits of the Afghaun nation, and although in most parts of their country, justice might now be obtained by other means, and though private revenge is every where preached against by the Moollahs, and forbidden by the government, yet it is still lawful, and even honourable, in the eyes of the people, to seek that mode of redress. The injured party is considered to be entitled to strict retaliation on the aggressor; an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and so on. If the offender be out of his power, he may wreak his vengeance on a relation, and in some cases on any man of the tribe. If no opportunity of exercising this right occur, he may defer his revenge for years; but it is disgraceful to neglect or

abandon it entirely, and it is incumbent on his relations, and sometimes on his tribe, to assist him in his retaliation.

Retaliation thus exercised, of course, leads to new disputes; the quarrel becomes inveterate, and in serious cases it is often transmitted from father to son for several generations.

The remote effects of this system in encouraging assassination, with its attendant habits of dissimulation and cruelty, and in unsettling the society, and accustoming its members to scenes of tumult and blood, are probably not discovered by the rude legislators of Afghaunistaun: but the alarms and disorders which it immediately produces, must be felt by all, and accordingly we find in every tribe some measures adopted for repressing its activity. In a few Ooloosses, the adjustment of disputes is left to mediation and persuasion, to which the chief and elders always lend their weight; but if these means are insufficient to prevail on the aggressor to offer compensation, or the injured person to forgive, the society leaves the latter to pursue his own revenge. In other tribes, and indeed in most tribes, the society interposes with more vigour, and compels the obstinate party to submit to its decision, or to quit the Oolooss; but in many, even of these cases, the sole object is to reconcile the parties, and to prevent present disturbance, nor is it thought that the society is injured, or that it has any right to punish for the sake of example, after the actual sufferer has been satisfied.* In some cases, however, the Khaun or

* This view of the case is taken even by the Mahommedan law, as Mahommed, in compliance with the prejudices of his countrymen,

the Jeerga, but more particularly the Khaun (for it is commonest in Ooloosses where the chief is powerful) not only compels the offender to satisfy the injured party, but levies a fine for the state besides.

All criminal trials are conducted before a Jeerga, which is composed of Khauns, Mulliks, or elders, assisted by Moollahs, and even by grave and experienced persons of inferior rank to those. Petty offences are settled by the Jeerga of the village, or subdivision in which they occur; but cases are referred to higher authorities, in proportion to their importance, so that, in well regulated Ooloosses, the more serious ones are tried before the Khaun and the heads of clans; but in very loosely governed tribes, every subdivision acts for itself.*

A Jeerga is generally assembled by the local chief, but in most tribes any man who is fit to be a member, may summon a meeting, and in many tribes non-attendance is punished by a fine.

When the members are assembled, they all take

and perhaps with his own, has left the punishing of a murderer, and even the choice of punishing him, or pardoning him for a fixed compensation, to the relations of the deceased; while he wisely took the right of judging of his guilt out of their hands, and transferred it to the Cauzy.

* The Pooshtoonwullee acts on the same principle in enforcing civil rights with that which it observes in criminal offences. If one man has a claim on another, his only remedy is to seize on an ox, a horse, or some other property of his debtor's, which he retains as a pledge for the liquidation of his demand; but the Pooshtoonwullee is now almost entirely discontinued in civil causes. Where there is a Cauzy, or a Cauzy's deputy, within reach, the dispute is referred to him; and in places at a distance from the seat of those royal officers, it is determined by an assembly of Moollahs, on the principles of the Mahommedan law.

their seats on the bare ground, and the principal person present, after a short prayer, repeats a Pushtoo verse, importing that "Events are with God, but deliberation is allowed to man." The accuser's story is then heard and if the defence is at variance with it, witnesses are called, and examined till all the facts are ascertained. If (as is most common) the accused admits the facts, but pleads circumstances in his justification, the Jeerga inquires into the matter, and decides according to its merits. There is a penalty fixed for each offence; except among the Berdooraunees, where it is determined by the Jeerga.

It always includes a public and humble submission and apology, and in serious cases a certain number of young women from the family of the criminal, are given in marriage to the person aggrieved and his relations.*

A show is always made of delivering up the criminal to the accuser, and of giving *him* the choice of retaliating; but it is well understood that he is to comply with the desire of the Jeerga, and to accept the compensation decreed to him. After which, the

* This practice originates in the expense of purchasing a bride from her father on ordinary occasions. Among the western Afghauns, the expiation of a murder is made by giving twelve young women, six with portions, and six without. The portion of each among the common people, is sixty rupees (£7. 10*s*.), partly in goods. For cutting off a hand, an ear, or a nose, they give six women; for breaking a tooth, three women; for a wound above the forehead, one; a wound below the forehead (unless it take a year to heal), or any other small offence, is expiated by apologies and submission. Among the eastern Afghauns, fewer young women are given, and more money; and, on the whole, the penalty is lighter. There are equivalents for the women fixed in money, which the person to whom compensation is awarded may take if he please.

parties are made to salute each other with the usual address of Salaum alaikum, Peace be unto thee, and to partake of each other's hospitality; and in most tribes this reconciliation is cordial and permanent. If the accused refuse to attend, some tribes proceed with the cause, and decide *ex parte;* but others either drag the refractory person to the Jeerga, or send Moollahs to curse him, give up his property to plunder, and expel him the Oolooss. The same is done to any one who refuses to abide by their decree, and they often empower the accuser to execute exact retaliation on the defendant, if he refuses to pay the compensation decreed. Where the compensation is fixed, or when it has been settled at a high rate by the Jeerga, they always intercede with the offended party to forgive part of it.

I was at first surprised to find that Jeergas were more rarely employed in ascertaining the guilt of an accused person, than in judging of the circumstances which justified his alleged offence, and in determining the compensation which he was to make to the injured party; but by degrees, reasons appeared why acts of violence should seldom be concealed. The Pooshtoonwullee gives a man a right to revenge his own injuries, and the opinion of the Afghauns makes it a point of honour to assert that right: all motive for concealment is therefore withdrawn, unless the party is sensible that he is in the wrong; and, on the other hand, publicity is necessary to clear his honour. The Afghaun notions on this subject are illustrated by those of our own nation on the practice of duelling, which is only a generous and well-regulated mode of private revenge.

On the whole, these judicial Jeergas are useful institutions. In most cases they conduct themselves with tolerable impartiality, although they cannot be exempt from the influence of friendship and enmity, and may perhaps, in some instances, be accessible to solicitation, and even to corruption. One naturally imagines their debates to be tumultuous and disorderly, but I understand that this is not often the case; and in some tribes the Jeergas are remarkable for order and gravity, and for a rude kind of eloquence, much admired by their countrymen.

The Jeerga is rendered unnecessary in some cases by the extensive powers of the Khaun, and in others it is rendered nugatory by the unruliness of the people. The most powerful Khaun, however, is glad of the countenance of a Jeerga, when he has to deal with a powerful offender; and among the Dooraunees, where the chief acts by the King's authority, and is supported by his power, he still finds it convenient to avail himself of the advice of a Jeerga: this last observation applies to deliberations on all subjects, as well as to the trial of offences. Even where Jeergas are in use, all crimes are not brought before them. It is always reckoned an admission of weakness to complain to a Jeerga, and consequently less honourable than to obtain justice by force; accordingly men of rank in the Oolooss, and powerful people, (that is, people who have many relations,) are always unwilling to compromise an affront, and to agree to a reconciliation till the injuries on both sides are equal. This is carried so far, that the injured party affects reluctance to be reconciled, even when the affair has been brought to the Jeerga at his own request. In

many tribes, the Jeerga does not interfere until a complaint is made to it; and in some, not till both parties are persuaded to submit to its award; but in others, the local chief assembles a Jeerga whenever he hears of any serious offence, and brings the parties before it.

In serious cases, such as murder, the offender often flies the country; but if he is unwilling to leave his tribe, he is sensible of the danger he incurs by remaining, and determines to submit and obtain forgiveness from the person he has injured. In that case, he goes as a suppliant to the house of some considerable man, and begs him to intercede, and procure his pardon. By the custom of the Afghauns, a suppliant can seldom be refused, and the person applied to is obliged to agree. He assembles some other respectable men, some Moollahs and Syuds, and proceeds with the offender to the house of the injured person. The whole of the party are now suppliants; and, as they cannot be refused, the person offended, if unwilling to make up the quarrel, leaves his house before they arrive, or endeavours to conceal himself. When he is found, the criminal appears dressed in a shroud, puts a naked sword into the hand of his enemy, and tells him that his life is in his power. At the same time the chiefs and Moollahs put themselves in an attitude of entreaty, and beg forgiveness for the suppliant. It ends in the injured person pardoning the offence, and receiving a compensation.

The above statements have been confined to an unmixed community, the component parts of which are classed according to their descent; but though

this is the commonest form of the society, it is not without variations and exceptions. Parts of two subdivisions may inhabit the same village, and in that case, though each has a head of its own, they hold their Jeergas in common, and act exactly as if they were one subdivision.

A division which quits its own Oolooss, may be adopted into another. It is part of the Afghaun rules of hospitality, to treat strangers in such circumstances with particular attention. They are assigned lands by the tribes which they join. Their chief has a seat at the principal Jeerga, his people retain their internal government, and are exactly on a footing with the original members of the Oolooss: they are subject to the same laws, enjoy the same privileges, enter into the wars and alliances of the Oolooss which they have joined, and though they retain the name of that from which they are sprung, they, for the time, lose all connection with it. They do, however, sometimes return to their original Oolooss, and in the event of a war between it and that which has adopted them, they would not, among the western tribes, be expected to take any part. Among the eastern Afghauns, they would be obliged to assist the Oolooss with which they lived.

These adopted divisions are much inferior in numbers to the rest of the Oolooss.

Individuals who leave their tribe from disgust, without selling their lands, are in many cases received into the Oolooss which they join, and have lands assigned them; but persons who sell their lands, and leave their tribe from poverty, are placed in the class of denizens, which is next to be mentioned.

Every Oolooss has many people attached to it, who are not Afghauns. These are called Humsauyehs.*

They have no place at the Jeerga, but their interests are watched over by the division to which they belong, and by the individuals to whom they have attached themselves.

It is a point of honour for every man to protect his Humsauyehs; and, consequently, their condition is little inferior to that of the members of the Oolooss.†

Afghauns who join an Oolooss, after quitting their own from poverty, are considered as Humsauyehs, but are treated with more regard than the rest of that class. In one tribe, the Gundehpoors, the numbers of Humsauyehs, of the Beloche and other nations, greatly exceed those of the Oolooss; and there, I believe, they take the name, and enjoy all the privileges, of members of the Ooloos, which is constantly reproached with this corruption. In general, they are very inferior in numbers to the Oolooss, and in some of the tribes at a distance from the great roads, there are scarce any Humsauyehs at all. Humsauyehs have not in general landed property.

An assemblage of many commonwealths, such as I have described, composes the Afghaun nation, and the whole, or nearly the whole, is formed into one

* The original meaning of the word Humsauyeh is *neighbour*. As it is used in this place, it has exactly the force of our word denizen.

† One of the few quarrels I have heard of among the Dooraunees, originated in an injury offered to a Humsauyeh. A Hindoo Humsauyeh of one Noorzye chief, had gone to the village of another; while, on his return, he was seized by a third, on pretence of his owing this chief money. The two other chiefs joined, and attacked the one who had seized the Humsauyeh. Blood was shed, and it required the interposition of the Naib of Candahar to compose the quarrel.

state by the supreme authority of a common sovereign.

The King is the natural head of the tribe of Dooraunee, the greatest, bravest, and most civilized in the nation; but his paramount authority over the other tribes, has been superinduced by causes which will hereafter be explained.

That authority extends to a general superintendence over the whole kingdom, and to the levying fixed proportions of troops or money, or both, from each tribe, for the common defence. The whole nation, however, is seldom animated by one spirit, and the individual interests of each Oolooss attract more of its attention than the general welfare. Some of the plains round towns, much of the portion of Afghaunistaun, which is exclusively inhabited by Taujiks, and all the foreign provinces of the state, are entirely under the authority of the King, who is thus enabled to collect a revenue independent of the tribes, and to maintain an army without their assistance.

In consequence of these circumstances, there is some distinction of interests between the King and the nation, and a still greater difference of opinion regarding his legal powers; the King, the Courtiers, and the Moollahs, maintaining that he has all the authority possessed by Asiatic despots; and the people in the tribes considering him as a monarch with very limited prerogatives. This produces a good deal of diversity in the actual exercise of the royal authority.

The government of the tribe of Dooraunee centres in the King, though even there, he is generally obliged to attend to the wishes of the heads of clans,

He also interferes in the interior management of the tribes on the plains, and near great towns; but he contents himself with levying his supplies of men and money from the rest, without any further interference in their affairs than is occasionally required to preserve the public tranquillity. One or two tribes are independent of his government. This is not the place to enter into a detailed account of the royal government, but a loose reference to a monarchy which is better known, may serve to render the subsequent account intelligible to the reader, till he arrives at the information which will enable him to form a judgment for himself. With the exception of the republican government of the Ooloosses, the situation of the Afghaun country appears to me to bear a strong resemblance to that of Scotland in ancient times; the direct power of the King over the towns and the country immediately around, the precarious submission of the nearest clans, and the independence of the remote ones, the inordinate power and faction of the nobility most connected with the court, and the relations borne by all the great lords to the crown, resemble each other so closely in the two states, that it will throw light on the character of the Dooraunee government to keep the parallel in view.

The defects of this system are obvious, and when we come to observe in detail the anarchy and disorder which so often arise under the republican government of the tribes, we might be induced to under-rate the quantum of happiness it produces, and to suppose that the country would derive more advantage from the good order and tranquillity which an absolute monarchy, even on Asiatic principles, would secure; but

the more I have learned of the actual state of the Afghauns, the stronger is my conviction that such an estimate would be erroneous.

We may easily appreciate the benefits of an exemption from the vexatious interference of the officers of a distant King, and from the corruption and oppression with which such interference is always accompanied in Asia; nor must we, amidst the alarms and confusion which will be forced on our attention, overlook the partiality of the Afghauns for their present constitution; the occupation and interest, the sense of independence and personal consequence, which result from a popular government, however rudely formed; and the courage, the intelligence, and the elevation of character which those occupations and that independence can never fail to inspire.*

Another incalculable advantage of the present system is, that although it encourages *little* disorders, it affords an effectual security against the general revolutions and calamities to which despotic countries in

* The Afghauns themselves exult in the free spirit of their institutions. Those who are little under the royal authority, are proud of their independence, which those under the King (though not exposed to the tyranny common in every other country in the east) admire, and fain would imitate. They all endeavour to maintain that "all Afghauns are equal," which, though it *is* not, nor ever was true, still shows their notions and their wishes. I once strongly urged to a very intelligent old man of the tribe of Meaunkhail, the superiority of a quiet and secure life, under a powerful monarch, to the discord, the alarms, and the blood which they owed to their present system. The old man replied with great warmth, and thus concluded an indignant harangue against arbitrary power: "We are content with discord, we are content with alarms, we are content with blood, but we will never be content with a master."

Asia are so frequently subject. In Persia or India, the passions of a bad King are felt through every part of his dominions; and the civil wars which occur almost as often as a King dies, never fail to throw the kingdom into a state of misery and disorder: part of the inhabitants are exposed to the licence and cruelty of the contending armies, and the rest suffer, nearly in an equal degree, from the anarchy that follows a dissolution of the government which has hitherto maintained the public tranquillity. The consequence is, that a tyrant, or a disputed succession, reduces the nation to a state of weakness and decay, from which it cannot wholly be retrieved before its recovery is checked by the recurrence of a similar calamity. In Afghaunistaun, on the contrary, the internal government of the tribes answers its end so well, that the utmost disorders of the royal government never derange its operations, nor disturb the lives of the people. A number of organized and high-spirited republics are ready to defend their rugged country against a tyrant, and are able to defy the feeble efforts of a party in a civil war. Accordingly, if we compare the condition of the two kingdoms, we find Persia in a state of decay, after twenty years of entire tranquillity; while Afghaunistaun continues the progressive improvement which it has kept up during twelve years of civil warfare. New aqueducts are constantly made, and new lands brought into cultivation: the towns and the country round them, indeed, as well as that on the great roads, are declining; but the cause is obvious, in their being immediately exposed to the power of the competitors for the crown, and to the pillage of their armies.

But even if we admit the inferiority of the Afghaun institutions to those of the more vigorous governments of other Asiatic countries, we cannot but be struck with the vast superiority of the materials they afford for the construction of a rational constitution. The other nations are better adapted to a bad than to a good government. They can all be brought to contribute their whole force to the support of a despotism within the time that is required to overrun their territory, and ages must pass away before the slaves of India or China could be made capable of taking a share in the government of their country; but if a King, of sufficient genius to form the design of cordially uniting his subjects, should spring up among the Afghauns, he would necessarily fall on a beautiful form of government, as the only one by which he could possibly accomplish his design. An ordinary monarch might endeavour to reduce the tribes to obedience by force; but one Afghaun King* has already had the penetration to discover that it would require a less exertion to conquer all the neighbouring kingdoms, than to subdue his own countrymen. A monarch, such as I have supposed, would therefore be obliged (as the King is at present†) to concert his measures with the hereditary Khauns; and the necessity of consulting the interests of the whole, would induce them to carry on their debates in a general assembly: such an arrangement would be congenial to the habits of their internal govern-

* Ahmed Shauh.

† No measure was determined on in Shauh Shujah's time, without a council of the Dooraunee lords.

ment, and conformable to the practice which the King now observes with the Dooraunee Sirdars; and it would form a council of the nobility, connected both with the King and the people, though more immediately with the King. In most Ooloosses the Khauns can levy no taxes, and can take no public measures, without the consent of the *elected* Mulliks, who are obliged, in their turn, to obtain the consent of their divisions. The King might try to strengthen the Khauns, and by their means to draw a supply from a reluctant people; but unless he began with greater means than the Kings have yet possessed, his attempt would probably be attended with as little success; and if he wished for general and cordial aid, it must be procured by adherence to the present system, and by obtaining the consent of the nation. Thus the Khauns would be sent, as they now are, to persuade their tribes to contribute to the general revenue. They would find the people's ignorance of the national exigencies a bar to their granting any addition to the established supplies; and it surely would not be an unnatural expedient to prevail on them to depute one or two of the wisest of their Mulliks, to ascertain at the court the real state of the public affairs. An elective assembly would thus be formed, of which every individual would be closely connected with his constituents, and would be regarded by them as their natural and hereditary head; they would represent a people accustomed to respect their chiefs, but as much accustomed to debate on, and to approve or reject, the measures which those chiefs proposed. The militia of the tribes would constitute an army which would be invincible by a

foreign invader, while the King would be without any force that could offer a moment's resistance to a general combination of his subjects.

The slightest alteration would form a combination between the Jeergas and the Cauzees appointed by the King, which would be admirably adapted to the administration of justice, and a government would thus be established, as well suited as any that can be imagined for promoting the greatness and happiness of the nation.

Such are the pleasing reveries to which we are led by a consideration of the materials of which the Afghaun government is composed, but a very little reflection must convince us, that these speculations are never likely to be realised. The example of neighbouring despotisms, and the notions already imbibed by the court of Caubul, preclude the hope of our ever seeing a King capable of forming the design; and there is reason to fear that the societies into which the nation is divided, possess within themselves a principle of repulsion and disunion, too strong to be overcome, except by such a force as, while it united the whole into one solid body, would crush and obliterate the features of every one of the parts.*

* There are traces, in the village government of India, of the existence of a system resembling that of the Afghaun Ooloosses; the remains of it, which have survived a long course of oppression, still afford some relief from the disorders of the government, and supply the solution of a difficulty, which must be experienced by all travellers in the centre of India, respecting the flourishing state of parts of the country from which all government appears to be withdrawn.

CHAPTER III.

MARRIAGES.—CONDITION OF WOMEN.—FUNERALS, ETC.

The Afghauns purchase their wives. The practice is recognized by the Mahommedan law, and is followed in most parts of Asia, even among nations like the Chinese, where the Mussulmaun religion is unknown. The price varies among the Afghauns, according to the circumstances of the bridegroom. The effect of the practice is, that women, though generally well treated, are in some measure considered as property. A husband can divorce his wife without assigning any reason, but the wife cannot divorce her husband; she may sue for a divorce on good grounds before the Cauzy, but even this is little practised. If the husband dies before his wife, his relations receive the price that is paid for her, in case of a second marriage; but among the Afghauns, as among the Jews, it is thought incumbent on the brother of the deceased to marry his widow, and it is a mortal affront to the brother for any other person to marry her without his consent. The widow, however, is not compelled to take a husband against her will; and if she have children, it is thought most becoming to remain single.

The common age for marriage throughout the Afghaun country is twenty for the man, and fifteen or sixteen for the woman. Men unable to pay the

price of a wife, are often unmarried till forty, and women are sometimes single till twenty-five. On the other hand, thè rich sometimes marry before the age of puberty; people in towns also marry early, and the eastern Afghauns marry boys of fifteen to girls of twelve, and even earlier when they can afford the expense. The western Afghauns seldom marry till the man has attained his full strength, and till his beard is grown; and the Ghiljies have still later marriages. In all parts of the country, the age at which every individual marries, is regulated by his ability to purchase a wife, and to maintain a family. In general, men marry among their own tribe, but the Afghauns often take Taujik, and even Persian wives. These matches are not at all discreditable, but it is reckoned a mark of inferiority to give a daughter in marriage, and, consequently, the men of rank, and the whole of the Dooraunees, refuse their daughters to men of any other nation.

In towns, men have no opportunities of seeing the women, and matches are generally made from considerations of expediency. When a man has thought of a particular girl, he sends a female relation, or neighbour, to see her, and report on her: if he is pleased, the same lady sounds the girl's mother, and discovers whether her family are disposed to consent to the match; and if the result be favourable, she makes an offer in plain terms, and settles a day for a public proposal. On the appointed day, the father of the suitor goes, with a party of his male relations, to the girl's father; while a similar deputation of women waits on her mother, and makes the offer in form. The suitor sends a ring, a shawl, or some such pre-

sent to his mistress, and his father begs the girl's father to accept his son for his servant; the girl's father answers *Mobaurik baushud*, "May it be auspicious;" upon this, sweatmeats are brought in, of which both parties partake, after solemnly repeating the Fauteheh, or opening verse of the Koraun, and praying for a blessing on the couple: the girl's father makes some trifling present to the lover, and from this time the parties are considered as affianced. A considerable time elapses before the marriage is celebrated. It is employed by the relations of the bride in preparing her dowry, which generally consists in articles of household furniture, carpets, plates, brazen and iron vessels, and personal ornaments. The bridegroom, in the mean time, is collecting the price of his wife, which always greatly exceeds her dower, and in preparing a house, and whatever else is necessary for setting up a family. When the bridegroom is poor, these preparations sometimes occupy a year or two; but when he is rich, the period is not above two or three months. The ceremonies of the marriage are so exactly the same with those of the Persians,* that a short account of them here will suffice.

The marriage contract is drawn up by the Cauzy, and formally agreed to by the woman as well as by the man (the consent of relations being of no avail). The articles stipulate for a provision for the wife in case of a divorce, or of her husband's death; and are signed by both parties, as well as by the Cauzy and competent witnesses. Soon after this the bride and bridegroom dye their hands and feet with portions of the

* See Franklin's Tour to Sheerauz.

same henna (a plant used for this species of ornament by women and young men in most Asiatic countries). On the next night, the bride goes in procession to the house of her future husband, attended by a band of music and singers, by the relations of both, and by parties of the neighbours, wheeling in circles on horse-back, firing their matchlocks, and flourishing their swords. When the bride reaches the house, she is presented to her husband, and the whole concludes with a wedding supper.

A marriage is conducted in the same manner in the country; but, as the women there go unveiled, and there is less restraint in the intercourse between the sexes, the match generally originates in the attachment of the parties, and all the previous negotiations are saved. It is even in the power of an enterprising lover to obtain his mistress without the consent of her parents, by seizing an opportunity of cutting off a lock of her hair, snatching away her veil, or throwing a sheet over her, and proclaiming her his affianced wife. These proceedings, which are supposed to be done with the girl's connivance, would prevent any other suitor proposing to her, and would incline the parents to bestow her on the declared lover; but, as they would not exempt him from the necessity of paying some price, and as they might be taken up as an affront by the relations, they are not often resorted to; and, when the consent of the parents cannot be obtained, the most common expedient is to elope with the girl. This is considered as an outrage to a family equal to murdering one of its members, and is pursued with the same rancour, but the possession of the girl is secured. The fugitives take refuge in the lands

of some other tribe, and are sure of the protection which the Afghaun customs afford to every guest, and still more to every suppliant.

Among the Eusofzyes, no man sees his wife till the marriage ceremonies are completed; and with all the Berdooraunees, there is great reserve between the time when the parties are betrothed and the marriage. Some of them live with their future father-in-law, and earn their bride by their services, as Jacob did Rachel, without ever seeing the object of their wishes. But all the rest of the Afghauns, the Eimauks, the Hazaurehs, the inhabitants of Persian Khorassaun, and even the Taujiks, and many of the Hindoos in those countries, have a far different practice, and permit a secret intercourse between the bride and bridegroom, which is called naumzud bauzee, or the sports of the betrothed. With them as soon as the parties are affianced, the lover steals by night to the house of his mistress. The mother, or some other of the female relations, favours his design; but it is supposed to be entirely concealed from the men, who would affect to consider it as a great affront. He is admitted by the mother, and conducted to his mistress's apartment, where the lovers are left alone till the approach of morning. The freest intercourse, the most unreserved conversation, and even kisses, and all other innocent freedoms, are allowed: but the last favour is always to be withheld, and the strongest cautions and prohibitions are used by the mother to both parties separately. Nature, however, is generally too strong for injunctions, and the marriage begins with all the difficulty and interest of an illicit amour. There have even been cases where the bride has brought her husband two or

three children when she was formally received as his wife; but this is very scandalous, and seldom happens. The custom prevails even among men of rank; and the King himself sometimes exposes his person alone in the midnight adventures of naumzud bauzee.

Polygamy is known to be allowed by the Mahommedan law, but the bulk of the people cannot afford to avail themselves of the permission. The rich, indeed, exceed the legal number of four wives, and keep crowds of female slaves besides. But the poor content themselves with one wife; and two wives, with as many concubines, are reckoned a liberal establishment for the middle classes.

The condition of the women varies with their rank. Those of the upper classes are entirely concealed, but are allowed all the comforts and luxuries which their situation admits of. Those of the poor do the work of the house, and bring in water, &c. Among the rudest tribes, they have a share in the work of the men out of doors; but in no part of the country are they employed as in India, where half the hired labourers in building, &c., are women, and where there is scarcely any difference between the work dône by the two sexes. The Mahommedan law allows the husband to beat his wife; but it is reckoned discreditable for a man to avail himself of this privilege.

The ladies of the upper classes frequently learn to read, and some of them show considerable talents for literature. At the same time, it is thought immodest in a woman to write, as she might avail herself of her talent to correspond with a lover. I have known several families which were principally guided by women of more than ordinary talents, and in those

cases they never hesitated to correspond on any business that concerned their sons. These are chiefly the mothers of families, but the wives also often gain a great ascendant; and all the advantages given by the Mahommedan law are not always sufficient to prevent the husband's sinking into a secondary place in his own house. Women of the lower orders have all the domestic amusements of their husbands, and none, that I know of, peculiar to themselves. Those in towns are always wrapped up in a large white sheet, which covers them to their feet, and completely hides their figure. They are enabled to see by means of a net-work in the white hood which covers their head. Women of condition also wear this dress when they come out; and, as they are then generally on horseback, they wear a pair of large white cotton boots, which hide the shape of their legs. They also travel in cajawas (or hampers, one on each side of a camel), which are long enough to allow a woman to lie nearly at length; but, as they are covered with a case of broad cloth, they must be suffocating in hot weather. The women are allowed to go about the town veiled in the manner I have described, and they form a considerable part of all the crowds that gather to see spectacles. They also make parties to gardens; and, though more scrupulously concealed, are not much more confined than women in India. On the whole, their condition is very far from being unhappy, compared with that of the women of the neighbouring countries.

In the country they go unveiled, and are under no other restraint, among people of their own camp or village, than what is imposed by the general opinion,

that it is indecent to associate with the men. But they immediately cover their faces, if they see a man with whom they are not intimate; and seldom come into the public apartment of their houses, if there is a stranger there. They do not, however, stand on this ceremony with Armenians, Persians, or Hindoos, whom they count for nothing. They receive guests when their husbands are from home, and treat them with all the attention that is required by hospitality; but the chastity of the country women, and particularly of those of the shepherds, is a theme of praise to all people acquainted with their manners. There are no common prostitutes except in the towns, and very few even there, particularly in the west. It is reckoned very disreputable to frequent them; but their knowledge of the world, the polish of their manners, and the arts they use to attract admiration, afford so much interest and variety that all the latitude allowed in wives and concubines, is insufficient to prevent rich men from seeking their society.

I am not sure that there is any people in the East, except the Afghauns, where I have seen any trace of the sentiment of love, according to our ideas of the passion. Here it is very prevalent. Besides the numerous elopements, the dangers of which are encountered for love, it is common for a man to plight his faith to a particular girl, and then set off to a remote town, or even to India, to acquire the wealth that is necessary to obtain her from her friends. I saw a young man at Poona, who was in this predicament. He had fallen in love with the daughter of a Mullik, who returned his attachment. The father consented to the marriage, but said his daughter's

honour required that she should bring as large a fortune as the other women of her family. The two lovers were much afflicted, as the young man had nothing but some land and a few bullocks. At last, he resolved to set off to India. His mistress gave him a needle, used for putting antimony on the eyelids, as a pledge of her affection, and he seemed to have no doubt that she would remain single till his return. These amours are generally confined to the country people, where great ease and leisure are favourable to such sentiments, particularly when combined with the partial seclusion of the women (which renders them sufficiently inaccessible to excite interest, while they are seen enough to be admired). They are sometimes found even among the higher orders, where they are less to be expected. It was a love affair between the chief of the Turkolaunees and the wife of the Khaun of a division of the Eusofzyes, that gave rise to the war between the Ooloosses, which lasts to this day.

Many of the Afghaun songs and tales relate to love, and most of them speak of that passion in the most glowing and romantic language. A favourite poem, which tells the story of Audam and Doorkhaunee, is known to most men in the nation, and is read, repeated, and sung, through all parts of the country.* Audam was the handsomest and bravest young man of his tribe, and Doorkhaunee the most beautiful and most amiable of the virgins; but a

* I once possessed a copy of this poem, of which I should have been glad to have translated some extracts; but I have since lost it, and the abstract I have given was repeated to me in Persian by an Afghaun of Deraubund.

feud between their families long prevented their meeting. At last an accidental rencounter took place, which ended in a mutual and violent passion. The quarrels of the families, however, still kept the lovers separate, and perhaps in ignorance of each other's sentiments, till Doorkhaunee was compelled by her relations to marry a neighbouring chief. The affliction of her lover may be imagined, and his lamentations, and the letters that passed between him and Doorkhaunee, fill a large part of the poem; till at last, after overcoming numberless obstacles, Audam succeeded in prevailing on his mistress to see him. They had several meetings, but Doorkhaunee still preserved her purity, and rejected alike the importunities of her lover and her husband.

Audam's visits did not long escape the husband, who was filled with jealousy and desire of vengeance. He took the opportunity of his rival's next visit to waylay him, at the head of several of his own relations; and though his attack was bravely repelled, and his opponent escaped with a desperate wound, he resolved to try if Audam's suit was favoured by observing the effect of a report of his death on Doorkhaunee.

Doorkhaunee's only pleasure, during the long intervals of her lover's visits, was to retire to a garden, and to cultivate two flowers, one of which she named after herself, and the other after the object of her affection. On the day of the ambuscade she was watching her flowers, when she observed that of Audam languish from sympathy with his recent misfortune; and before she recovered from her surprise, she was accosted by her husband, who approached

her with a drawn sword, and boasted that it was wet with the blood of Audam. This trial was fatal to Doorkhaunee, who sunk to the ground, overwhelmed with grief and horror, and expired on the spot. The news was brought to Audam, who lay wounded near the scene of the ambuscade; and no sooner had he heard it than he called on his mistress's name, and breathed his last. They were buried at a distance from each other; but their love prevailed even in death, and their bodies were found to have met in one grave. Two trees sprung from their remains, and mingled their branches over the tomb.

Most people will be struck with the resemblance of this story, and particularly of the conclusion, to many European tales. It is, indeed, remarkable how many stories are common to Europe and Asia, and that not only in works of imagination, but in facts attributed to real personages, and recorded in history. One example may suffice out of many which might be brought forward. The stratagem of turning loose oxen, with torches on their horns, by which Hannibal is said to have escaped from Fabius, is attributed by the Afghauns, with all its particulars, to one of their own chiefs, and the scene of it is fixed in the neighbourhood of Heraut. In the same manner, a vast number of our jests are told in Asia, and half of Joe Miller might be disputed between "the facetious Tom Killigrew" and "a certain scholar" of some city in the East.

The funerals of the Afghauns do not differ from those of the other Mahommedans; a man in his last moments is attended by a Moollah, who admonishes him to repent of his sins; the sick man repeats his

creed and appropriate prayers, and expires with his face to Mecca, proclaiming that there is no God but God, and that Mahommed is his prophet. When he is dead, the corpse is washed, wrapped up in a shroud, and buried, after the usual prayers have been said by a Moollah, and joined in by the numerous relations and neighbours who attend the funeral. If the deceased was rich, Moollahs are employed to read the Koraun for some days over his grave.

The ceremony of circumcision is the same in all Mahommedan countries. It is attended with a feast and great rejoicing.

CHAPTER IV.

EDUCATION, LANGUAGE, AND LITERATURE OF THE AFGHAUNS.

All the Afghauns are sent in their infancy to a Moollah for education. Some learn no more than their regular Namauz, and other occasional prayers and passages of the Koraun, with the ceremonies of their religion, and the duties of a Mussulmaun. About Peshawer, and among the Dooraunees, the next step is to learn to read the Koraun in Arabic, often without understanding it; but in other tribes this study is reserved for a more advanced stage. This is the education of the lower orders, of whom not a quarter can read their own language.

The rich keep Moollahs in their houses to teach their children, but allow them all the power of a common schoolmaster. The Moollah who had charge of the prime minister's son (a boy of sixteen when I saw him), told me that he kept him to his book for almost the whole day.

There is a schoolmaster in every village and camp, who is maintained by a piece of land allotted to him, and by a small contribution which he receives from his scholars. His office is sometimes united with that of the priest of the village; but it is oftener distinct, especially in large places. In towns there are regular schools, like those in European countries, where the

master is maintained by his scholars alone. The sum commonly paid to a schoolmaster in Peshawer, is about fifteen pence a month; but the payments are in proportion to the circumstances of the boy's father. In most parts of the country the boys live with their fathers, and only attend the school during the day; but among the Berdooraunees a boy is sent at a very early age to a distant village, where he lives in the mosque, subsists by alms, and has little or no intercourse with his parents, but is taken care of by the schoolmaster under whom he has been placed.

The following is the course of study pursued about Peshawer: a child begins its letters (in conformity to a traditional injunction of the Prophet) when it is four years, four months, and four days old; but its studies are immediately laid aside, and not resumed till it is six or seven years old, when it learns its letters, and is taught to read a little Persian poem of Saadi's, which points out the beauty of each of the virtues, and the deformity of each of the vices, in very simple, and not inelegant language. This takes from four months to a year, according to the child's capacity. After this, common people learn the Koraun, and study some books in their own language; people of decent fortune proceed to read the Persian classics, and a little of the Arabic grammar: boys who are to be brought up as Moollahs, give a great deal of their time to this last study, which, as the Arabic grammars are very elaborate, and comprehend a great deal of science that we do not mix with the rudiments of a language, sometimes occupies several years. When a young Moollah has made sufficient proficiency in this study, he goes to Peshawer, Husht-

nuggur, or some other place famous for its Moollahs, and begins on logic, law, and theology. No further knowledge is required to complete a Moollah's education, but many push their researches into ethics, metaphysics, and the system of physics known in the East, as well as history, poetry, and medicine, which last is a fashionable study for men of all professions. For those studies, and for the more advanced branches of theology and law, they often travel to distant cities, and even to Bokhaura, which is a great seat of Mahommedan learning; but Peshawer seems, on the whole, to be the most learned city in these countries, and many more students come thither from Bokhaura than repair to that city from Peshawer. India has not a great reputation for learning, and the heresy of the Persians makes all Soonnees avoid the infection of their colleges.

It is reckoned a good work in the sight of God to promote learning, and consequently, besides the King's colleges, there is an establishment in every village for maintaining students. The consequence is, that the country is over-run with half-taught Moollahs, who rather impede than promote the progress of real learning.

Before saying more about the learning of the Afghauns, it will be well to give some account of their language, which, as I have already mentioned, is called Pushtoo. Its origin is not easily discovered. A large portion of the words that compose it, spring from some unknown* root, and in this portion are

* It is probable many of these words might be traced to a known source, if diligently sifted by an Oriental scholar. I have explained, in the next note, the process they have undergone in my hands.

included most of those words which, from the early necessity for designating the objects they represent, must have formed parts of the original language of the people; yet some of this very class belong to the Zend and Pehlevee, such as the terms for father and mother, sister and brother. This seems also to be the case with the numerals, though the Zend and Pehlevee numerals bear so strong a resemblance to the Shanscrit ones, that it is difficult to distinguish them. Most of the verbs, and many of the particles, again, belong to the unknown root. The words connected with religion, government, and science, are mostly introduced from the Arabic through the Persian.

Of two hundred and eighteen words which I compared* with the corresponding ones in Persian, Zend, Pehlevee, Shanscrit, Hindostaunee, Arabic, Armenian,

* The comparison was made in the following manner:—I drew up a Pushtoo vocabulary, which I believe was correct, and which had the advantage of being compared with one compiled by Mr. Irvine: similar vocabularies of the Zend and Pehlevee languages, were made for me by a friend to whose kindness I have often been indebted. They were taken from two learned Parsees, and compared with Anquetil du Perron's lists. The same friend procured the Georgian, Armenian, Hebrew, and Chaldee vocabularies. My own acquaintance with Persian and Hindostaunee was sufficient, with the help of dictionaries, for the purpose I had in view; and for the Shanscrit, each word was compared with all the numerous synonyms in the Amercosh, which were read to me by a Pundit. I have given part of my vocabulary in the Appendix (E).

Since I wrote the above, I have had an opportunity of examining a list of about one hundred Curdish words, and I find among them five of the hundred and ten which I have mentioned as original Afghaun words, besides several common to the Curdish and Persian languages. I regret that I have not an opportunity of following up the investigation.

Georgian, Hebrew, and Chaldaic, I found one hundred and ten that could not be referred to any of those languages, but seemed distinct and original. Of the remainder, by far the greater part were modern Persian ; but some of these were introduced into the latter language from the Zend, and many more from the Pehlevee, while a good number were words of those languages not employed in modern Persian. Some of these Zend and Pehlevee words are, however, common to the Shanscrit, the three languages having a great affinity ; and some words also occur which are to be found in Shanscrit alone, as do five or six words of the Hindostaunee language. It is probable some Punjaubee words would also be detected, if the list were compared with a vocabulary of that language. Not one word of the two hundred and eighteen has the smallest appearance of being deducible from the Hebrew or Chaldaic, Georgian or Armenian.

The Afghauns use the Persian alphabet, and generally write in the Nushk character. As they have some sounds which are not represented by any Persian letters, they express them by adding particular points, or other marks, to the nearest Persian letter.*

* These sounds are the hard *D, T,* and *R,* and the *Csh* of the Shanscrit. The favourite letters in Pushtoo seem to be the *Ghain* (the sound of which cannot be expressed in English characters, but which has a resemblance to the Northumberland *Burr*), and *Zhay,* which has the power of *Z* in azure, or *S* in Osier. Such is the fondness of the Afghauns for these letters, that they often change the *Gs* of words adopted from the Persian into *Ghains,* and the *Zs* (and even the *Shs*) into *Zhs.* They also often change *F* into *P, D* into *T,* and even *D* into *L ;* and they frequently turn *O* into *Wu,* as Roz (day) Rwuz. The eastern Afghauns, again, have some permutations peculiar

The Pushtoo, though rather rough, is a manly language, and not unpleasing to an ear accustomed to Oriental tongues. The dialects of the East and West, differ not only in the pronunciation, but in the words they make use of, to a degree at least equal to the difference between Scotch and English. None of the famous Pushtoo authors are of more than a century and a half old, and I should imagine that there were no books in the language that can pretend to more than double that antiquity. What literature there is, has been derived from that of the Persians; and their compositions would resemble that model, but for their greater rudeness and superior simplicity. I have the names of eight or nine Afghaun poets, besides translators from the Persian.

The most popular of all the poets is Rehmaun, whose works consist of odes, exactly like those of the Persians. I can perceive no merit in those of his poems, which I have had explained to me; but this is no proof that he is unworthy of his reputation: most Persian odes are very unequal, and, even in Hafiz, the beautiful and sublime passages, which excite so much admiration, are almost lost in a mass of verses that are far below mediocrity.

to themselves; thus they change *Zh* into *G*, and *Sh* into *Kh*. These changes sometimes disguise a word in such a manner, as to render it a matter of difficulty to discover its etymology. Nobody would suspect that *Ghwug*, the eastern Afghaunee for an ear, could be derived from the Persian *Gosh*, from which, however, it is clearly deducible by the foregoing rules. The Pushtoo is distinguished from Persian and Hindostaunee by its fondness for the letter *S*, preceded or followed by a consonant at the beginning of a word; a combination unknown to the other two languages. Of this nature is *sturgee*, an eye, and *speen*, white; as well as *pshee*, a foot, and *shpee*, night.

Khooshhaul appears to me a far superior poet to Rehmaun, and his productions are highly characteristic of himself and his nation. They are more than ordinarily rude, and are often intolerably flat and prosaic; but they are often inspired with the unconquerable spirit of their author; and glow with the noblest sentiments of liberty and independence. Khooshhaul was Khaun of the Khuttuks, a tribe situated to the east of Peshawer. His life was spent in struggles against the great Mogul Aurungzebe, and many of his poems are intended to animate his countrymen to the defence of their independence, and to persuade them to concord and combination, as the only means of success. His works contain a full account of himself and his proceedings. One poem begins thus:

"Come, and listen to my story,
In which both good and evil are displayed.
It contains both precept and example,
Agreeable to the understanding of the wise.
I am Khooshhaul, the son of Shahbauzkhan;
Descended from a race of warriors.
Shahbauz was the son of Yeheia Khaun,
Like whom there never was another youth.
Yeheia Khaun, of Acora,
Who was a Sultan at the sword.
He was both gallant at the use of the sword,
And a master of archery with his bow.
Any enemy that appeared against him
Soon found his place in the tomb.
He had both the sword and the board;
Both courage and courtesy.
* * * * * *
His companions
Were men of spirit, who sported with their lives;
And in all transactions they were sincere.

They went to their graves dyed with blood.
Such heroes were they all.
The family became numerous,
And most of them turned out worthy men.
United in every undertaking.
Honour and reputation were dear to them all.
It was in the year of the Hejra 1022,
That I came into this world.

He then goes on to tell how, on his father's death, he became the great Khaun of his tribe; how he ruled over 30,000 Khuttuks, and lived in greater splendour than any of his ancestors. He enumerates his horses, his hawks, and his hounds; and boasts of the thousands that had partaken of his hospitality. He then alludes to his misfortunes, and bursts into invectives against the Moguls, and into bitter reproaches against some of his sons, who had been seduced by the prospect of advancement to join the enemies of their country.

"I am the enemy of Aurungzebe, the King;
Though my head be on the mountains, and in the wilderness.
I am for the honour of the Afghaun name,
And they have taken part with the Moguls.
They always prowl about, like hungry dogs,
After the soup and the bread of the Moguls,
In hopes of an increase of their rank,
They are always in pursuit of me.
My hand could reach them even now,
But I will not destroy my own soul."

He long continued his exertions with the courage and patriotism of a Wallace; sometimes succeeding in destroying royal armies, and sometimes wandering almost alone through the mountains. He at one time fell into the hands of Aurungzebe, was carried to India, and was confined for three years in a dungeon

in the hill-fort of Gwalior, the great state prison of those days.*

During this imprisonment he composed an elegy; in which, after lamenting his own misfortunes and those of his country, he concludes with this spirited declaration:

"But, in all these misfortunes, I still thank God for two things:
One, that I am an Afghaun; and the other, that I am Khooshhaul Khuttuk."

He was at length released, I know not by what means, and once more returned to his native country, where he published a vast number of poems, and a history of the Afghauns, from the Babylonish captivity to his own time.

The following poem was composed at a time when Khooshhaul and his few confederates had gained many brilliant victories, but had been intoxicated by their success; had engaged in separate attacks on the enemy's forces; and, in consequence of this want of co-operation, had all been defeated. At this time Khooshhaul set out for the country of the Eusofzyes, and left nothing unattempted to stir up that powerful tribe to join in the war. There appears to have been an inclination for peace even among his own friends, which this poem seems designed to counteract, by reminding them of their victories, by pointing out Aurungzebe's vindictive disposition, and his habitual perfidy, and by convincing them that their only resource was in war, and their only safety in union. It is but justice to Khooshhaul to mention, that it is one of the only three poems which were read to me, with little or no selection, from his very voluminous works.

* See Bernier.

Poem of Khooshhaul.

Whence has this spring appeared again,
Which has made the country all around one rose garden ?
The anemone is there, the sweet herbs, the iris, and the basil,
The jasmine, the daffodil, the narcissus, and pomegranate flower.
The flowers of the spring are of all colours ;
But the cheek of the red tulip glows most among them all.
The maidens have handfuls of roses in their bosoms.
The youths have bunches of flowers in their turbans.
The musician applies his bow to his cheghauneh,
And searches out the melodies of every string.
Come, O cup-bearer, bring full, full cups :
Let me be satiated with wine and revelry.*
The Afghaun youth have reddened their hands,
As a falcon dyes its talons in the blood of its quarry.
They have made their white swords rosy with blood,
As a bed of tulips blooming in summer.
Amail Khaun and Derria Khaun were the heroes,
Each emulous of the other.
They stained the valley of Kheiber with blood,
And poured the tumult (of war) on to Currupa.
Up to Currupa, and to Bajour, the mountains and the plains
Trembled, as with an earthquake, again and again.
It is now five years, that in those quarters
Every day has been heard the clashing of bright swords.

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* The description of the spring reminds one of the old English romances, which sometimes open with a prelude of the same kind, unconnected with the subject of the poem. Thus in the romance of Merlin.

" Mirie, it is in time of June,
When fenil hangeth abroad in town,
Violet, and rose flower,
Woneth them in maiden's bower.
The sonne is hot, the day is long,
Foulis maketh mirie song.
King Arthour bar Coroun
In Cardoile, that noble town," &c.

Ellis's Specimens. Vol. I.

Since I left that country, I am annihilated.
Am I dead, or are those around me dead ?
I call aloud for troops till I am weary :
But those around me are deaf both to complaints and reproaches.
Had I known the state of the Eusofzyes,
I should have preferred flying to Dumghaur.*
The dogs of the Khuttuks would be better than the Eusofzyes,
Even if the Khuttuks themselves were no better than dogs.
The whole of the Afghauns, from Candahar to Attock,
Rely openly or secretly on each other's honour.
Yet see how many battles have taken place in all quarters,
And yet the Eusofzyes have shown no sense of shame.
The first battle was behind the hills,
Where forty thousand Moguls were cut to pieces.
Their wives and their daughters were the prisoners of the Afghauns,
And strings on strings of horses, camels, and elephants were taken.
The second was fought by Meer Hossein in the Dooaub,
When his head was crushed like that of a snake.
After that, was the fight of the fort of Noushehra,
Which removed the intoxication from the head of the Moguls.
After it came Jeswunt Sing and Shoojaut Khaun,
Whom Amail defeated at Gundaub.
The sixth battle was with Mookurrum Khaun and Shumsheer Khaun,
Whom Amail cut up to his heart's content.
We have always hitherto been victorious in battle,
And therefore, henceforward, let us trust in the Lord.
Aurungzebe, for the last year, has been encamped against us,
Disordered in his appearance, and perplexed in his mind.
All his nobles have fallen in battle ;
And the soldiers who have perished, who can number ?
The treasures of Hindoostaun have been scattered abroad.
The red gold Mohurs have been sunk in the mountains.
No man would have found out, in eighteen guesses,
That such transactions would have taken place in this country.
Yet the King's malignity is not diminished,
Which formerly drew down the curse of his own father.†

* I suspect some mistake in this verse.

† *Shauh Jehaun*, whom Aurungzebe deposed and imprisoned.

"No dependence can be placed on the King,
For he has ill designs, and is false and treacherous.
No other issue can be discovered in this affair;
Either the Moguls must be annihilated, or the Afghauns undone.
If this be the course of the spheres which we see;
If it be God's pleasure (that we perish), let this be the time.
The heavens do not always revolve in the same manner.
They are sometimes suited to the rose, and sometimes to the thorn.
This time (of danger) is the time for honour.
Without honour, what would become of the Afghauns?
If they harbour any other thought, it is destruction.
There is no deliverance, but in the sword.
The Afghauns are better than the Moguls at the sword.
If the understanding of the Afghauns was awakened,
If the Ooloosses would give their support to one another,
Kings would soon be prostrate before them.
But dissension and concord, rashness and prudence,
Are all in the hand of God, who assigns to each man his share.
You will see what the Afreedees, Mohmends, and Shainwarrees will do,
When the Mogul army has encamped in Ningrahaur.
I alone feel for the honour of our name,
While the Eusofzyes are cultivating their fields at their ease.
He that now is guilty of such want of spirit
Will see in the end the result of his conduct.
To my mind, death is better than life
When life can no longer be held with honour.
We are not to live for ever in this world:
But the memory of Khooshhaul Khuttuck will remain."

Among the Pushtoo poets we must not omit the name of Ahmed Shauh, who composed a book of odes in that language, on which there is a laborious and voluminous commentary by the Khaunee Ooloom.

Besides their original poetry, the Afghauns have translations of many of the best Persian poets.

Their prose authors are chiefly writers on theology and law; but they have also several histories of parti-

cular periods in their own transactions. The books written in Pushtoo, are not to be relied on as giving any standard of the learning of the nation ; for Persian still continues to be the language of composition, and in it almost all books of science are written. It is not easy to fix the number of their writers in this language : if we count all those who have written in Afghaunistaun, we shall include some of the greatest Persian authors ; but if we confine ourselves to those who belonged to the Afghaun tribes, the list will be brought within very narrow bounds. This much is certain, that all the Persian authors are familiarly read in Afghaunistaun, but the learning and accomplishments of the people are inferior to those of the Persians. The sciences are the same as those to which the Persians apply themselves. The way of studying them is as methodical as in other Asiatic countries. A learned man of those countries, meeting another with whom he is not acquainted, will ask him what sciences he has studied (a question which would puzzle most well-informed Englishmen), and then ask what books he has read : to which the other will answer, "up to so and so," which will be at once understood, as they read all books in a fixed order like schoolboys. This practice prevents their having much of the miscellaneous knowledge of European gentlemen, though, on the other hand, they generally know what they have learned well. It seems likely to damp curiosity, and to check all excursions of the mind ; and accordingly there is generally a want of ardour in pursuit of knowledge among the Asiatics, which is partaken by the Afghauns, excepting, however, in the sciences of dia-

lectics and metaphysics, in which they take much interest, and have made no contemptible progress. The degree of encouragement which learning has received from the Afghaun Kings, deserves to be remarked. Ahmed Shauh was very fond of letters, and used to have once a week a Mujlissee Oolima (or assembly of the learned), the early part of which was devoted to subjects of divinity and law, but which always concluded with conversations on poetry and science, and were often prolonged till near morning. Timour Shauh retained these meetings, and used to have his own compositions read at them; nor has the practice been laid aside to this day. Timour Shauh published a book of odes in Persian, which is highly spoken of, but is said to have been corrected and improved by Feroghee, a celebrated poet of Timour's court. Ahmed Shauh also wrote several poems in Persian, and I am in possession of a poetical epistle in that language from Shauh Zemaun to his brother Shujah, which (though the person who gave it to me pretended that he had greatly embellished it at Zemaun's desire) is still a very poor performance. Shauh Zemaun, indeed, is said to be the most illiterate of his family. He was at one time persuaded by his Moollahs to issue a proclamation, forbidding the study of logic, as dangerous to the Mahommedan faith; but his edict had no effect, except occasioning great merriment among those to whom it was addressed. I have not heard of any works of Shauh Mahmood; but Shauh Shujah is an Arabic scholar, makes tolerable verses, and is reckoned learned and accomplished for a King.

CHAPTER V.

RELIGION, SECTS, MOOLLAHS, SUPERSTITIONS, ETC.

THE Mahommedan religion is so well known, and all details regarding it are to be found in so many books, that it is quite unnecessary to mention any of its forms or tenets, except such as are particularly observed by the nation which I am describing. The Afghauns are all of the sect called Soonnee, which acknowledges the three first caliphs as the lawful successors of Mahommed, and admits their interpretation of the law, and their traditions of the Prophet's precepts. They are opposed to the Sheeahs, who reject the three first caliphs as rebels and usurpers of an office which belonged of right to Ali, the nephew of Mahommed, and the fourth of his successors. This last sect is confined to the Persians and their descendants; all the other Mahommedans being Soonnees. The difference between them, though I do not believe it is sufficient to affect any serious part of their conduct, is enough to create a bitter enmity between the two sects. The unlearned part of the Afghaun nation certainly consider a Sheeah as more an infidel than a Hindoo, and have a greater aversion to the Persians for their religion than for all the injuries the country has suffered at their hands. The feelings of the Afghauns towards people of a religion *entirely* different from their own, is however free from all asperity, as

long as they are not at war. They hold, like all other Mussulmauns, that no infidel will be saved; that it is lawful, and even meritorious, to make war on unbelievers, and to convert them to the Mussulmaun faith, or impose tribute on them; and, I imagine, to put them to death, if they refuse both of those conditions. It is true that Shauh Zemaun, in his two conquests of the Punjaub, allowed the Siks entire toleration, and forbade them to be molested, unless they appeared as enemies; yet that prince himself was induced by a bigoted Moollah to endeavour to convert two Siks, and to put them to death for their obstinate rejection of his arguments;* and the Hindoo historian of the battle of Pauneeput describes a most inhuman massacre of the unresisting fugitives, and even of the prisoners, which he attributes entirely to the religious fury of the Mussulmauns. Whatever may be their conduct in war, their treatment of men whom they reckon infidels, in their own country, is laudable in Mahommedans. Their hatred to idolaters is well known; yet the Hindoos are allowed the free exercise of their religion, and their temples are entirely unmolested; though they are forbidden all religious processions, and all public exposing of their idols. The Hindoos are held to be impure, and no strict man would consent to eat meat of their dressing; but they are not treated with any particular contempt or hardship: they are employed in situations of trust and emolument, and those who reside in Afghaunistaun appear as much at their ease as most of the other in-

* The Afghaun who told the story, expressed a proper sense of the cruelty of this proceeding and mentioned the firmness of the Siks with applause.

habitants.* The best proof of the toleration practised by the Afghauns, is the good report of the Siks who have travelled among them. The Siks are accustomed, in their own country, to treat the Mussulmauns as inferiors, and would therefore be particularly sensible of any insult or contempt from people of that persuasion; yet they always speak well of the usage they receive, and one Sik Goldsmith in particular (who was a very intelligent man, and had travelled over great part of Afghaunistaun, Persia, Khorassaun, and Tartary), always spoke of the kindness and hospitality he received in the former country, which he contrasted with the contempt with which he was treated by the Persians, who would not allow him to draw water, for fear of polluting the well, or to walk in the streets during rain, lest he should splash some Mahommedan, and thus render him impure. The Uzbeks used him well. It must, however, be admitted, that the Hindoos

* I do not know whether the greater part of the Afghauns would scruple to eat food prepared by a Hindoo. From the conduct of the great Dooraunee Lord, Ahmed Khaun Noorzye, in the following instance, one would think they would not; but I must confess that the Persian who told me the story, seemed to think it put Ahmed Khaun's coarseness in a strong light: it is also to be remembered, that Ahmed Khaun affects to keep up the genuine manners of the Afghauns, and to despise all modern refinements. He was one day riding out near Peshawer with Kefauyet Khaun, a Persian nobleman: they alighted at a village not far from the city, and while they were seated there a Hindoo brought them a large plate of curds, which it may be supposed was not dished out with the neatness that would be seen in a nobleman's palace. Ahmed Khaun, however, began on it with a good appetite, and when the Persian pointed out that the curds were dirty, and were besides impure, as being made by a Hindoo, he only answered, "Hindoo che sug ust keh Nidjis baushed?" "What sort of dog is a Hindoo, that he should pretend to be impure?" and went on with his mess till he had emptied the platter.

are obliged to pay a light tax, from which Mussulmauns are exempt, that they are considered as an inferior race, that they are particularly exposed to the tyranny of the Moollahs. That tyranny must, however, be exercised under colour of law; and the following case, which took place in the Berdooraunee country, (where the people are a thousand times more bigoted and intolerant than in any other part of Afghaunistaun,) will show the means made use of on those occasions. A Moollah, having been crossed in some love adventure by a Hindoo, gave information to the Cauzy that his enemy had embraced Islaum, and had relapsed into idolatry. The Cauzy, after examining witnesses, (who swore to the Hindoo's conversion, and to his having repeated the Mahommedan creed,) ordered the prisoner to be circumcised against his will. The sentence required to be executed by the civil magistrate, and the Dooraunee governor of Peshawer could not be prevailed on to carry it into effect. On this the Moollah assembled some others of his order, and by degrees was joined by some thousand Moollahs (who swarm about Peshawer); he marched to the principal mosque, stopped the usual call to prayers, and suspended all the ceremonies of religion, as if the country were under an interdict, till at last the governor was compelled to give way, and (after fruitless attempts to make the witnesses contradict themselves) he ordered the Hindoo to be circumcised. The operation was performed with much harshness, and the new convert immediately fled to Lahore, where he returned to his former faith. It is probable that, among the Berdooraunees, any Mussulmaun would assume a superiority over a Hindoo of equal

rank; at least I remember a Berdooraunee camel-driver in my service who had some dispute with a Hindoo, and ran to my tent, exclaiming, with every appearance of surprise and indignation, "Justice! Justice! Here is a Hindoo reviling a Mussulmaun in the very midst of the camp!"

In the West, however, a Mussulmaun has no such advantage; and Mr. Durie relates, that he has seen many disputes between Hindoos and Mussulmauns in Candahar, in which the Hindoos were quite as violent as their opponents, without giving the least offence to any of the other Mahommedans.

I must own that I am somewhat at a loss respecting the treatment of Christians. There is no doubt they enjoy a free toleration throughout the kingdom; but Mr. Foster (whose authority is not to be disputed) represents the usage he received, while in the character of a Christian, to have been contemptuous and degrading. My own experience would lead me to a very different conclusion; but, from the situation in which I was placed, it was not likely that I should meet with any slight. I have however, had many opportunities of hearing of the treatment of Christians from a native of Constantinople, who professed the Catholic religion; and, as he had resided from ten to twenty years in the country, he could scarcely be supposed to be ill-informed. He sometimes complained of the Afghauns in other respects; but always said that they had not the smallest aversion to a Christian. He took care never to attack the Mahommedan doctrines, unless he was well assured of the free sentiments of his company; but in all respects unconnected with religion, his conduct, and the treat-

ment he received, were those of a foreign Mussulmaun. I have had opportunities of witnessing the fidelity of his Mahommedan servants, to whom he sometimes entrusted secrets which would have cost him his life. He was always treated with respect by men of all ranks; and, among others, by the King's Imaum, the head of the Mussulmaun religion in Caubul. What proves the general toleration is, that he was very obnoxious to the prime minister for his attachment to Mokhtaur Oodoula (on whose ruin the other had risen), and was for some time in a state of confinement within the Balla Hissaur on that account; yet his religion never was thought of as a pretence for injuring him. There is a Catholic priest of Greek descent at Caubul, who seems to be well treated, as he is mentioned with respect in a letter from the vizeer to me; and I have seen an Armenian soldier, who, though very debauched, and often intoxicated, seemed to be exactly on a footing with the Persians, with whom he served. But the best evidence on this head is that of Mr. Durie, who travelled through the Afghaun country as far west as Candahar, in the disguise of a Mahommedan; and though his real religion was often suspected, and several times discovered, he never observed any change in the behaviour of the people. I refer to his journal for particulars;* but I cannot refrain from inserting two passages, the first of which I took down from his own mouth, and the second was contained in the papers he wrote before I had conversed with him. Both relate to the subject of toleration: but the first also gives a striking picture of the impression made by the mixture

* See Appendix B.

of hospitality and rapacity, so remarkable in the Afghauns.

"One day some people at Candahar asked whether I was a Soonnee or a Sheeah? and I said I was of the religion of Shumsee Tubreesee, who was a kind of a free thinker. But, one said, 'We know you are neither a Soonnee nor a Sheeah, but a Feringee (a Frank); and many people know that as well as us, but do not like to mention it, because it might be of annoyance to you.' They are a kind people. If they thought I was rich, they would not treat me ill, they would only take my riches; and, if I would not give them, they would make me." The following is extracted verbatim from Mr. Durie's written paper: "They imagine their religion to be the best, and most true, consequently they consider all others to be misled or erroneous, hoping on account of the superior truth thereof, to vanquish all in the end. Being Soonnee Mahommedans (in conformity with the Turks, and Tartars, and Arabs, and holding the Persians as misled,) they refrain from such degrees of animosity as might urge them to their own destruction or extirpation. That they hold their religion to be the best is undoubtedly not their fault, they being strictly initiated to imagine so. However, the spirit of toleration, owing to philanthropy, does not a little actuate them, (though at first they might wish to Mahommedanize all men,) for many of them are certainly free, liberal, and tolerating."*

* Mr. Durie was a native of Bengal, the son of an Englishman, by an Indian mother. He had been employed as a compounder of medicines in different dispensaries; but, some years ago, he was seized with a great desire of travelling, and after wandering some time in

The Sheeahs are more discountenanced than any other religious sect; yet all the numerous Persians in the country are Sheeahs, and many of them hold high offices in the state and household. Their religion allows and even enjoins them to dissemble, when in heretic or infidel countries, and consequently they are put to no inconvenience by the restrictions imposed on them. Those restrictions prevent their praying in the attitude peculiar to their sect, their cursing the three first caliphs, and their exhibiting public processions, and other representations, during

India, he crossed the Indus without a farthing in his possession, and travelled through the Afghaun country in the character of a Mahommedan, with the intention of proceeding to Bagdad. He went by Caubul to Candahar, resided some months in each of those cities, and at length returned by the same route to India. He came to Poona in 1812, and presented himself at my door in rags, and with little about him that promised much information. I had, by this time, finished my collections, and made up my mind on most subjects relating to the Afghauns. But I had not seen the west of the country; and though I had received detailed accounts of the whole of Afghaunistaun from natives of that kingdom, yet their notions were likely to differ from mine. It was probable that they might consider that as refined which I should have thought rude; and I was in want of some scale to which I might refer their pictures. A man who had seen Afghaunistaun, with the notions of an Englishman, was therefore a great acquisition, and one which I scarcely hoped to have obtained.

With all Mr Foster's merit, his account did not answer my purpose. He travelled with caravans during the night, saw little of the country he passed through, and had no communication with the inhabitants, except in towns, and even there his intercourse was restrained by the alarm so natural to a man who has entered on an untried adventure. The same uneasiness may, perhaps, have given a colour to the objects which he saw; and his views must, no doubt, have been affected by the hardships of the mode of travelling he undertook, to which, from his rank in life, he could have been but little accustomed.

Mr. Durie,

the Moburrem; but do not oblige them to renounce their faith, or to submit to any inconvenience or degradation. The Sheeahs, however, (perhaps because they are the depressed party, (are far more bigoted than the Soonnees, and never scruple to attack the opposite sect when they think they have favourable or neutral hearers. From a story of some Christian ambassador, under the fifth Caliph, who declared for the sons of Ali, and suffered martyrdom for his zeal, they have a notion that all Christians are convinced, by the force of natural reason, of the jus-

Mr. Durie, on the other hand, had been used to poverty; and as he travelled leisurely and almost alone, and lodged every where with the people of the country, he could scarce fail of knowing their real character and situation. As soon as I had discovered his story, and before I had any conversation with him on his travels, I requested him to commit his adventures and opinions on the Afghaun country to writing. It gave me real satisfaction to find them entirely coincide with my own; and I cannot but consider the agreement between the views of two persons, who saw a country in such different circumstances, and with such different views, as a strong confirmation of the accuracy of both. I afterwards made him write out his journey in detail, and took down information on other topics, which he gave on being questioned. His education must have been that of the lower order of half castes in India, and he spoke English ill. But he had read several of our best classics; and, though his language was incorrect, it was sufficient to express his thoughts fully and clearly, and even on some occasions with a good deal of vigour and eloquence. Though he never showed the least incoherency in his discourse, and though he was possessed of natural talents very surprising in his situation, he was, nevertheless, subject to partial derangement of his understanding, the strongest symptom of which was his impatience of any long continuance in one place. I offered him 150*l.* a year to stay with me as a clerk; but though he was actually in a state of beggary, he refused the offer, and set off to Bombay to embark in the first Arab ship which should afford him an opportunity of accomplishing his long projected journey to Bagdad.

tice of Ali's claims. I have often been asked, with great earnestness, to give my real sentiments on the case; and it was only by saying that I was not a Moollah, and could not pretend to give an opinion on such subjects, that I evaded so embarrassing a question. I had a good opportunity of seeing the spirit of toleration, or at least of forbearance, of the Afghaun government, in consequence of a mistake of some of my retinue. It is customary in India, where the Soonnees are not strict, to carry about highly ornamented biers (in commemoration of the death of the sons of Ali,) during the first ten days of the Mohurrem; and these processions are very obnoxious in Afghaunistaun, both as belonging to the Sheeah worship, and as being idolatrous. I had, in consequence, forbidden the Mussulmauns with the embassy to carry out their biers. They misunderstood the order, and went out in procession with flags, and all other symbols used on the occasion, except the biers. This flagrant affront to the religion of the country excited much surprise, but no opposition till the next weekly assembly of the Ulima took place at court; when one of the Moollahs, harangued for a long time on the occasion, and endeavoured to persuade the King that the Soonnee religion was in danger. The King, however, replied, that we were honoured guests, and that our practice should never be interfered with. The behaviour of the Siks on the occurrence of a similar circumstance, in the camp of the envoy to Lahore, during the very same month, formed a striking contrast to the moderation of the Afghauns. Without a word of explanation to the envoy, a numerous band of fanatics attacked his camp; and though they were

soon repulsed by the escort, and afterwards repressed by the chief of the Siks, they wounded an officer and some men, and lost several of their own body in the course of their outrageous attempt.

Another sect in Caubul is that of the Sofees, who ought, perhaps, to be considered as a class of philosophers rather than of religionists. As far as I can understand their mysterious doctrine, their leading tenet seems to be, that the whole of the animated and inanimate creation is an illusion; and that nothing exists except the Supreme Being, which presents itself under an infinity of shapes to the soul of man, itself a portion of the divine essence. The contemplation of this doctrine, raises the Soofees to the utmost pitch of enthusiasm. They admire God in every thing; and by frequent meditation on his attributes, and by tracing him through all his forms, they imagine that they attain to an ineffable love for the Deity, and even to an entire union with his substance. As a necessary consequence of this theory, they consider the peculiar tenets of every religion as superfluities, and discard all rites and religious worship, regarding it as a matter of little importance in what manner the thoughts are turned to God, provided they rest at last in contemplation on his goodness and greatness. This sect is persecuted in Persia, and though not discountenanced by the government in Caubul, is held in great aversion by the Moollahs, who accuse its followers of atheism, and often endeavour to entrap them into some doctrines which are liable to punishment by the Mahommedan law; but these attempts are seldom successful; one obstacle to their accomplishment is, that many of the

Soofees are sincere Mahommedans, notwithstanding the inconsistency of the two doctrines. I have heard a man expatiate with rapture on the beauty of the Soofee system, and on the enlarged and liberal views of human actions to which it leads, who has soon after, in the same company, stickled for every tenet of Islaum, and rejected with horror the idea of doubting the eternity of hell fire; when the difficulty of reconciling this doctrine with the belief that nothing existed but God was pointed out. He said that the system of the Soofees was certainly true, but that the eternity of hell was proved by the word of God himself.

The sect, however, is gaining ground, particularly among the higher orders and such of the Moollahs as apply themselves to general literature; and its obscure sublimity is admirably suited to the taste of that class. The love of mystery, indeed, which is so remarkable among them, induces them to form the highest notions of every thing that is concealed, and has even occasioned a lively curiosity about free masonry. I have often been questioned regarding it, and have heard the opinions which have been formed of its nature. All that is known of it was communicated by a certain Dervise, who travelled into European countries, and who gave this account of his initiation in the mystery. He was directed to enter a particular building, and after passing through winding passages, and crossing several courts, he reached an apartment where eight persons were seated. They seemed all transported and disordered by their own reflections, and their countenances bore the marks of inspiration. The Dervise there learned unutterable things, and acquired more knowledge on

the most sublime subjects from a moment's intercourse with those sages, than could have been gained by years of laborious study.

Another sect, which is sometimes confounded with the Soofees, is one which bears the name of Moollah Zukkee, who was its great patron in Caubul. Its followers hold, that all the prophets were impostors, and all revelation an invention. They seem very doubtful of the truth of a future state, and even of the being of a God. Their tenets appear to be very ancient, and are precisely those of the old Persian poet Kheioom, whose works exhibit such specimens of impiety, as probably never were equalled in any other language. Kheioom dwells particularly on the existence of evil, and taxes the Supreme Being with the introduction of it, in terms which can scarcely be believed. The Soofees have unaccountably pressed this writer into their service; they explain away some of his blasphemies by forced interpretations, and others they represent as innocent freedoms and reproaches, such as a lover may pour out against his beloved. The followers of Moollah Zukkee are said to take the full advantage of their release from the fear of hell, and the awe of a Supreme Being, and to be the most dissolute and unprincipled profligates in the kingdom. Their opinions, nevertheless, are cherished in secret, and are said to be very prevalent among the licentious nobles of the court of Shauh Mahmood.

The Roushuneea sect made a great noise among the Afghauns in the sixteenth century; but it is now almost extinct. It was founded in the reign of the Emperor Acbar, by Bauyazeed Ansauree, who was

called by his enemies the Peeree Taureek (or Apostle of Darkness), in derision of the title of Peeree Roushen (or Apostle of Light), which he had himself assumed. He held the same tenets with the Soofees, but as he added a belief in the transmigration of souls, it is probable he derived his creed from the Yogees, a sect of Hindoo philosophers, who add some of the dogmas of the religion in which they were educated, to those of the Soofee school. On this, however, he ingrafted some doctrines of his own, the most remarkable of which were, that the most complete manifestations of the Divinity were made in the persons of holy men, and particularly in his own; and that all men who did not join his sect, were to be considered as dead; and that their goods, in consequence, fell to the lot of his partizans, as the only survivors: these self-created heirs were entitled to seize on their inheritance when they pleased, without any regard to the dead proprietors, who might affect to be alive in spite of the Peer's decision.

Bauyazeed was a man of great genius, and his religion spread rapidly among the Berdooraunees till he was able to assemble armies, and to enter on a regular contest with the government: he was, however, at length defeated by the royal troops, and died of fatigue and vexation. His sons attempted to support his sect, in which they were long successful, but most of them were cut off; and two black rocks in the Indus are pointed out as the transformed bodies of Jellalloodeen and Kemaloodeen, the sons of the Peeree Taureek, who were thrown into the river by command of Aukhoond Derwezeh. Those rocks are still called Jellalleea and Kemauleea; and being

situated near the whirlpools made by the junction of the river Caubul, they furnish a figure to the orthodox, who say that it is natural that boats should be dashed to pieces against the bodies of those heretics, who had already caused the shipwreck of so many souls. The great opponent of the Peeree Taureek was Aukhoond Derwezeh, a Taujik of Boonere, who is now the greatest of all the saints of Afghaunistaun. He has composed many voluminous works, which enjoy an extensive reputation among his countrymen; but, judging from what I have seen of them, the Peeree Taureek would long have remained unconfuted, if the arguments of Aukhoond Derwezeh had not been supported by the arms of the Mogul emperors.

There are at this day some adherents of this sect about Peshawer, and still more in the mountains of Upper Bungush.*

There are doubtless many other sects among the Afghauns, the names of which have escaped my observation, or are not present to my memory; but the nation is still exempt from the influence of their example. They are all strict Soonnee Mahommedans, and as they are occupied about their own faith and observances, without interfering with other people, their religious spirit is far from being unpleasing, even in followers of Islaum. From their conversation, one would think the whole people, from the King to the lowest peasant, was always occupied in holy reflections; scarce a sentence is uttered without some allusion to the Deity, and the slightest occurrence produces a pious ejaculation. For example,

* Most of this account of the Roushuneea sect is abstracted from an excellent essay of Dr. Leyden's, in the eleventh volume of the Asiatic Researches.

they never speak of any future event, however certain, without adding "Inshaulla" (please God). They even apply this phrase to past time, and will answer a question about their age, "Please God, I am forty-five years old." Many people have always a rosary hanging round their wrist, and begin to tell their beads whenever there is a pause in the conversation; they are supposed to repeat the name of God whenever they drop a bead, but they often go on while they are listening attentively to what is said, and even while they are speaking themselves. They are always swearing, and their oaths are uttered with as much solemnity as if they were before the gravest tribunal. "I swear by God and by his prophet." "May I go an infidel out of this world, if it is not true." "May my wife be three times divorced, if I lie." One of their most solemn oaths is by the name of God (Allah), three times repeated in three different forms, "Wullah, Billah, Tillah." It may be well to mention here a custom they have in common with all Mussulmauns, which they call imposing an oath ("Kusm Daudun"). This is a species of adjuration, by which the person to whom the oath is recited, is supposed to be bound, whether he consents or not. Thus a man will tell another, "It is an oath by the Koraun, if ever you reveal what I have told you." "It is an oath by Jesus Christ, the soul of God, that you grant my request."

I do not know that people often do things disagreeable to them when thus conjured; but it is a common apology for consenting to any improper request to say, "I should never have done it, if he had not imposed an oath on me."

The Afghauns never enter on any undertaking

without saying the Fauteheh; a custom, I believe, peculiar to themselves. The Fauteheh is the opening verse of the Koraun, and is often used as a prayer by all the Mussulmauns.*

One person may say it aloud, and all the rest say Amen. They hold up their hands before them, with the palms upwards, during the prayer, and stroke their face and beards when it is concluded. This ceremony is gone through on all important occasions, on beginning a journey, on concluding an agreement, on marriages, and, in short, on the commencement of most acts in life.

No people can be more regular in performing their devotions. Their prayers begin before day, and are repeated five times; the last of which falls a little after the close of the evening twilight. The hour of prayer is always announced by the Muezzins (from the tops of the minarets, or from some other high place), by the shout of Allaho Akbar, "God is most great," which is repeated till it may be supposed to have reached the ears of all the faithful. It is a solemn and pleasing sound. When it is heard, the people repair to the mosques, but those who are otherwise occupied, do not suffer that interruption. A man who hears the call in company, remarks it, and withdraws to pray; but when I was in company, some persons always continued to sit with me; the rest retired to another part of the room, spread out their

* Praise be to God, the Lord of all creatures, the Most Merciful, the King of the day of judgment. Thee do we worship, of Thee do we beg assistance; direct us in the right way, in the way of those to whom thou hast been gracious; not of those against whom thou art incensed, nor of those who go astray. (Sales' Koraun, page 1.)

girdles on the ground, began without any ablution, and said their prayers without regarding who might be observing them: when all was done, they returned to the company immediately, and joined in the conversation as before. Every Mussulmaun faces to Mecca when he prays, and the better classes carry a compass (particularly when they are travelling), which has one bar pointing north and south, and another, which has a pigeon at the end, and which points to the direction in which Mecca is situated, from the country where it is made. The first part of the prayer is performed standing, after which the devotee seats himself on his heels in the usual Persian manner, and continues his devotions in this attitude, often bending forward so as to touch the ground with his forehead. Regular performance of prayer is not only enjoined by the religion, but in most parts of the Afghaun country it is enforced by the municipal law; and there is a regular officer, called the Moohtesib, who punishes the omission of it, or the breach of any other religious precept. The fast of the Ramzaun is enforced in the same manner, and strictly observed; and as it prevents a man from drinking water, or even smoking tobacco between sunrise and sunset, it is felt as a real hardship. Foreigners, however, are not molested on this account. The pilgrimage to Mecca is incumbent on every Mussulmaun once in his life. It is performed by many of the Afghauns. The commonest route is by Sind, where the pilgrims embark for Muscat or Busora, and travel by land to Mecca. Those of the north-east go down the Indus by water, and their holy design secures them respect, even from the most predatory tribes. Most of the pilgrims support

themselves by alms during their journey; and at Mecca they are maintained by a foundation instituted by Ahmed Shauh, who ordered a mosque and some sort of a caravansera to be erected at that city for the use of his countrymen. When there are few Afghauns, the surplus of this charity is distributed among the Arabs, who are therefore little pleased with the influx of Afghaun pilgrims. They take every opportunity of plaguing these interlopers, particularly by representing them as Sheeahs, because they generally use the language of Persia. All the Afghaun pilgrims speak with horror of the barbarism and rapacity of the Bedouin Arabs, and say that the most desperate man of the most predatory Afghaun tribe, is but a child among them.

The Mahommedan religion requires that every man should give a portion of his income in charity. All presents to holy men, and even the regular stipends of the Moollahs, are included under this head, besides alms to beggars. In places distant from towns, where there are no beggars, they reckon money spent in hospitality as charity; and in this interpretation they amply fulfil the injunctions of their religion. Dice are forbidden, as are all games of chance played for money. This prohibition is not strictly attended to; but the Afghauns are little given to gambling. Wine is known to be forbidden, and is in fact only drank by the rich; but an intoxicating drug, called *bang*, though equally unlawful, is used by the debauched in most parts of the country. The people, however, are among the soberest that I have heard of, and very far surpass the Indians, both Hindoo and Mahommedan, in that particular. Men reeling

drunk about the streets, such as one often sees in this Brahmin city (Poona),* would be a prodigy in Afghaunistaun.

The office of the Moohtesib, whose duty it is to superintend the public morals, is very invidious; and he is often accused of taking bribes to let off the guilty, and even of levying contributions by intimidating the innocent. His power extends to inflicting forty blows, with a broad leather strap, (made on a pattern prescribed either in the Koraun or the traditions,) and to exposing offenders to public shame, by sending them round the town on an ass or a camel, with their faces to the tail. I often saw the Moohtesib of Peshawer, who, though above the ordinary rank, always wore his thong in his girdle, as a mark of office: he seemed a moderate and sensible man; but he was very generally ill spoken of.

The Moollahs, and all the religious, even if they have no offices, are fond of preaching up an austere life, and of discouraging the most innocent pleasure.† In some parts of the country, the Moollahs even break lutes and fiddles, wherever they find them. Drums, trumpets, hautboys, and flutes are exempted from this proscription, as being manly and warlike; but all other music is reckoned effeminate, and inconsistent with the character of a true Mussulmaun. This austerity, however, is little practised by the people. The Moollahs are generally restrained to

[* This was a mistake.—Drunkenness in Poona was confined to the neighbourhood of the British lines, where alone spirituous liquors were allowed to be sold.—1838.]

† Ahmed Meer Wauez, of whom a full account is given in the history, obtained by this strictness very great popularity with the bulk of the Afghauns, which he used to dethrone Shauh Mahmood.

censuring the more important breaches of religion and morality; and, in many parts, they have no power at all.

The Moollahs are very numerous, and are found in every rank, from the chief courtiers and ministers to the lowest class in the poorest and wildest tribes. They are most numerous, in proportion to the body of the people about towns. When mentioned as a body, they are usually called the Ulima (or learned).

They are generally active, and comparatively able men, much attached to the interests of their own body, and careful to maintain its ascendancy. They are in possession of the greatest part of the learning of the country. The education of the youth, the practice of the law, the administration of justice in all parts of the country completely under the royal authority, are entirely intrusted to them; and these advantages, together with the respect which their superior knowledge commands among an ignorant and superstitious people, enable the Moollahs in some circumstances to exercise an almost unlimited power over individuals, and even over bodies of men; to check and control the governors and other civil officers; and sometimes to intimidate and endanger the King himself. This power is employed to punish practices contrary to the Mahommedan law, when they occur among its orthodox professors; to repress Sheeahs and other infidels; and, at least as often, to revenge the wrongs or forward the interests of individuals of the religious order. The influence of the Moollahs is often more beneficially exerted in reconciling quarrels in parts of the country where there are no other means of preserving the public peace.

Troops of these holy personages often come with their flowing robes into the midst of two Oolooses, drawn out for battle. They hold out the Koraun, repeat Arabic prayers, exhort the people to remember their God and their common religion, and seldom, if ever, fail to disperse them for the time, if they do not bring about a permanent reconciliation.

The Moollahs are particularly powerful about Peshawer, and through all the Berdooraunee country. In the city of Peshawer, the King's authority keeps them in some restraint, and obliges them to seek redress for private injuries from the civil power, or to wait an opportunity of fastening on their enemy some charge of heresy or infidelity, which may expose him to the bigotry of the people, or to the legal persecution of the Cauzy; but, in the remote parts of that country, an injury or an insult to a Moollah would itself be sufficient to raise a tumult. On those occasions the Moollahs send round to their brethren to assemble, suspend the public worship and the ceremonies of burial, pronounce their antagonists infidels, and formally excommunicate and curse them. If this fails in forcing their enemies to submit, they parade the country with the green standard of the Prophet, beating drums and proclaiming the Selaut (or war-cry of the Mussulmauns). They announce, that all who fall in their cause will be martyrs, and that all who fail to join them are excommunicated. By these means they soon assemble a mob (or, as they call it, an army); and as the Afghauns are more afraid of their anathemas than their arms, they generally bring their adversaries to their terms, which include the right to plunder and burn the houses

of the chief offenders, and to impose a fine on their abettors.

Stories are told of the walls of towns falling down at the shout of an army of Moollahs; and swords are blunted, and balls turned aside, when aimed at the life of these holy personages. Yet a stand was once made against them, even near Peshawer, when the Haukim of Hushtnugger resisted an army of them who came to enforce an usurious contract, and beat them off with loss, to the great joy of the neighbourhood. Though treated with great respect in this part of the country, I believe they are more feared than loved. In the west, their power is much more limited, and their character much more respectable. They are, in consequence, generally popular, particularly in the country: but, even there, they are complained of for the vices of their order, and for their intrusive and insatiable demands on the hospitality of the inhabitants.* Even in the west their power has sometimes been felt in the towns, particularly during the reign of Timour Shauh, whose prime minister was a Moollah. At that time they carried their insolence to such a pitch at Candahar, that a band of them attacked Kefauyet Khaun, (a Sheeah nobleman of Persian descent, who had held some of the highest offices in the state,) and rushed into his harem, insisting on a present, and protesting against the injustice of his eating rich pilaws, while they had

* It is curious to observe the similarity of manners in countries in the same stage of civilization, though far removed from each other both in place and time. Chaucer's Sompnours tale, exactly describes the importunity of the mendicant Moollahs, and the mixture of respect and aversion with which they are regarded.

only dry bread. It was with difficulty, and by the King's interposition alone, that the tumult was appeased. Their peculiar vices are hypocrisy, bigotry, and avarice. Their lives are sanctimonious in public, but some of them practise all sorts of licentiousness that can be enjoyed without scandal; and many are notorious for the practice of usury. Lending money on interest is expressly prohibited by the Koraun, and few decent Mussulmauns openly infringe a prohibition which it is so easy to evade. Most men content themselves with lending their money to merchants, stipulating for a share of the profit derived from the use of it, or with placing it in the hands of bankers, who profess to employ it in commerce, and to secure the owner a certain gain; but many Moollahs lend avowedly on compound interest, and with good security, by which they multiply their wealth to an incredible extent, and have got possession of a considerable share of the landed property of the kingdom. But as all do not practise usury, it may excite some curiosity to know how so numerous a body can be maintained.

Besides those who have ecclesiastical offices, or pensions from the crown (who will be mentioned in another place), and the more numerous class of village Imaums, who receive a certain share of the produce of the crops and flocks in their districts, many have grants of land from the King and from heads of villages, and some have received legacies of land from individuals. Some subsist by teaching and practising the law; others teach schools, or are tutors to the sons of rich men; some preach, and are paid by their congregations; some live by the chari-

table allowances granted by the crown and by villages to students, or by the alms and hospitality of people through whose country they travel; and others follow trade or farming, or live on their own means, and pursue their studies and amusements at leisure.

The character of a Moollah is conferred by an assembly of members of that order on persons who have gone through the proper course of study, and passed the requisite examination. The admission of a candidate is attended with a prescribed form; the chief part of which is investing him with the turban of a Moollah, which is bound round his head by the principal person in the assembly.

The Moollahs are distinguished by a particular dress; consisting of a large loose gown of white or black cotton, and a very large white turban of a peculiar shape.

There are no corporate bodies of Moollahs as there are of monks in Europe, nor is the whole order under the command of any chief, or subject to any particular discipline, like the clergy in England. All, except those who hold offices under the crown, are entirely independent, and the co-operation among them is only produced by a sense of common interest. They all marry, and live in other respects like laymen. I do not know that they have any peculiar manners, except an affectation of strictness. Some of them affect great gravity, and others take pleasure in frequenting all companies, and meddling in all affairs. One of these may often be seen with a large turban, and a blue handkerchief, a couple of yards long, over his shoulder, parading the streets at the head of a dozen of his disciples, with a long staff

in his hand, and a large law book under his arm ; or sitting in the houses of the rich, haranguing the company enforcing his doctrines with his fore finger, and shaking his wide sleeve ; or amusing the master of the house with his jokes and stories, and handing round his enormous snuff-box among the rest of the party. Moollahs of this sort are reckoned very pleasant companions ; they are great frequenters of Jeergas, where indeed their knowledge gives the whole order much weight in civil matters.

One would expect that the Moollahs would be great enemies to people of other religions, or at least would shun their society (as I believe they do in Persia), but this is by no means the case : I have had a great many acquaintances among the Moollahs, and found some of them very intelligent and agreeable. I was particularly well acquainted with two Moollahs, who were the sons of the Khaunee Oolloom (or lord of the learned), one of the greatest of the Ulima of his time ; and I found them the best informed and most liberal men I ever met, either in Afghaunistaun or in India.

It is not easy to say whether the Moollahs are, on the whole, a useful body, or otherwise. They are of eminent utility in most parts of the country, from their effect in moderating the violence of an ungoverned people, by the morality which they inculcate, and from the tendency of their habits to keep up the little science and literature that is known : I believe the existence of their order is beneficial in the present situation of the Afghauns ; but it is more than probable that it obstructs the transition to a better state of things, and it is certain that neither they nor their religion are at all adapted to a high state of civiliza-

tion, though well suited to the rude Arabs, for whom that religion was first invented.

Besides the regular clergy, there are many persons who are revered for their own sanctity, or that of their ancestors. Among the latter, the most famous are the Syuds, or descendants of Mahommed; and the former are called by the different names of Derweshes (Dervises), Fakeers, &c. either arbitrarily, or from some little difference in their observances; one set called Kulunders (Calenders), for instance, are remarkable for going almost naked; others wander from place to place, and visit all resorts of pilgrims; while some live abstemious and religious lives in the midst of towns, and some retire to practise their austerities in solitary places. These ascetics have been esteemed in Afghaunistaun in all ages, and half the histories of that country are filled with the legends of the numerous male and female saints whom it has produced. The places where such devotees are interred, or which have been distinguished by remarkable actions of their lives, are still considered as sacred, and each of the most celebrated is a safe asylum even from revenge for blood. The reverence in which these sanctuaries are held, is shown by the practice of the Eusofzyes, the most lawless of all the tribes, where a clan going out to battle, places its women in one of them, and relies on their security in case of a defeat.

Many such saints are now flourishing, and the ignorance of their countrymen ascribes to them the gift of prophetic dreams and visions, and the power of working miracles. Even the higher classes have faith in their predictions, and the King often consults them on the most momentous affairs of his government.

Some of these must have been engaged in voluntary imposture,* but the three most eminent in Peshawer, when I was there, disavowed all pretensions to supernatural powers. They were treated with the highest respect, even the King refusing to be seated before them till he was pressed; but they did not seem to solicit these honours, and they discussed the conduct of government, and reprehended its vices and those of the nation with great freedom: the only art they seem to resort to for maintaining their high reputation is great austerity of life; they are seldom very learned, and the two eminent saints that I saw were free from every kind of affectation and grimace, and only distinguished from other people by the superior mildness of their manners.†

* I have in my possession a book of miracles wrought by the famous saint of Chumkunnee, the spiritual director of Ahmed Shauh. It contains accounts of many miracles performed within these fifty years. It was given me by the son of the saint, and as it was written in his lifetime, and attested by many of his scholars, it is difficult to acquit him of fraud or falsehood.

† Haujee Meean, one of the greatest saints at Peshawer, sent to me to beg that I would tell him what severities were practised by the godly in Europe; his message was unluckily entrusted to a Persian who attended the mission on the King's part, and who, from his religion, could have no great reverence for devotees of the Soonnee persuasion. Accordingly, when I told him that our clergy performed no austerities, but thought they recommended themselves to God by leading a virtuous and religious life, he begged me not to disappoint the holy man, but to favour him with a few penances in which he might indulge his zeal. I then said that there were other parts of Europe where the devout exposed themselves to great sufferings, and mentioned all I could recollect of hair shirts and flagellation. The Persian thanked me with a mischievous smile, said he was sure the Haujee would be sensibly obliged to me, and took his leave, evidently pleased with the amusement he had procured for his employer.

The belief in these false saints is not the only superstition of the Afghauns; many instances of their credulity appear in my journal, but I may mention some here, which I have not noticed in that place.

All the Afghauns believe in alchymy and magic, in which arts they think the Indians great adepts. The King's Imaum was continually in pursuit of the philosopher's stone; and when I was at Peshawer, he was diligently engaged in search of it, assisted by an Indian Mussulmaun who had lately returned from Mecca. Many invectives are levelled at this art in the Koraun, yet the Imaum spent part of every day in superintending it, wasted a good deal of money on the preparations, and treated his coadjutor with the utmost confidence and attention.

A native of Peshawer of about sixty years old, who is now in my service, fell in love some time ago with a girl of Poona, and he was discovered within this week by some of his countrymen, closeted with an Indian, and performing a variety of incantations for the purpose of fascinating the affections of his mistress.

Near Candahar is a cave called the cave of Jumsheed, to the end of which it is impossible to penetrate, apparently on account of a torrent which obstructs the passage; but the Afghauns relate, that after advancing a certain distance, one hears the roar of winds and the rushing of waters, and that all progress is soon stopt by a wheel armed with swords, which is whirled round with such force and velocity as threaten to annihilate every thing that approaches it. Some bold adventurers, however, have overcome these obstacles, and reached a most enchanting garden in the bowels of the earth. They describe the verdure of

this delicious region, its bowers, woods, and lawns; its transparent streams, and its flowers of a thousand brilliant hues, as far surpassing any scene that the human imagination can figure; while the exquisite fruits, the perfumed breezes, and the ravishing music which for ever resounds, are equal to the warmest pictures of the Mahommedan paradise.

The Afghauns believe each of the numerous solitudes in the mountains and desarts of their country to be inhabited by a lonely dæmon, whom they call the Ghoollee Beeabaun (the Goule or spirit of the waste); they represent him as a gigantic and frightful spectre, who devours any passenger whom chance may bring within his haunts. It is to this spirit that they ascribe the illusion by which travellers are often led to believe that they see sheets of water in the midst of the desart, and they figure him watching near, to seize the unhappy wanderer who may be misled by his artifice, and tear him to pieces.*

They have all a great reverence for burial grounds, which they sometimes call by the poetical name of *cities of the silent*, and which they people with the ghosts of the departed, who sit each at the head of his own grave, invisible to mortal eyes, and enjoy the odours of the garlands which are hung on their tombs, and of the incense which is burned by their surviving relations. They believe in many other kinds of genii and spirits; but I do not think I have ever heard of the apparition of the ghosts of the dead. The glorified spirits of the four first Caliphs, however, were

* From this popular superstition, they often illustrate an account of the wildness of any sequestered tribe, by saying that they are Ghoollee Beeabaun (wild as the dæmons of the waste).

seen clothed with fire, on a hill over Caubul, during the battle between the Sheeahs and Soonnees.

They believe in dreams, in which a sufficient latitude of interpretation is allowed, to admit of their easy application to any event. A man of some consequence told me, that at one time while he was flying from the persecution of Waffadar Khaun (then Grand Vizeer), he dreamed that he saw the Vizeer dressed entirely in black, with a melancholy countenance, and with his hands shrivelled, and so weak that he attempted in vain to untie his own girdle. Soon after the dreamer woke, a man broke in on a private interview between him and another great man, with intelligence that the Vizeer was deposed and taken prisoner.

They also pry into futurity by astrological and geomantic calculations, and by all sorts of divination and sortilege. Their commonest method of divination, is by examining the marks in the blade bone of a sheep, held up to the light, which, though practised by people of education, is no better calculated to work on the imagination, or dazzle the understanding, than our own discovery of future events from coffee grounds. They also form presages from drawing lots, from the position assumed by arrows poured carelessly out of a quiver, and, above all, by touching their rosaries, while they think of the design which they project, and judging its favourable or unfavourable result, as the number of the bead they happen to touch, turns out to be odd or even, in counting from the top of the string. I remember a conversation which I had (immediately before Shauh Shujah's great struggle against his competitor in

1809) with one of that prince's Persian ministers, who told me that he had now good reason to rely with certainty on his master's success. I listened with attention, expecting to hear of a correspondence with some of the great lords of the other party, and I was a good deal surprised to find the minister's confidence arose entirely from the result of some augury from the position of arrows. The minister observed my disappointment, and proceeded to remove it by assuring me that he had as little faith as I had in the vulgar methods of divination, but that this particular mode was one noticed by the Prophet, and never known to fail.

The Afghauns (though as great diviners in other respects) do not think these appeals to Providence so necessary before they commence any undertaking, and make a merit of their Towukkul beh Khooda, or reliance upon God. They not unfrequently begin a journey by a short prayer, which commences, "I place my reliance on Almighty God," &c. &c. It is common with them to encourage a man to embark in a difficult adventure by saying, "Towukkul beh Khooda koon o boorow,"—"Put your trust in God, and go on."

The most elegant means employed to prognosticate future events, is one which answers to our Sortes Virgilianæ. It is performed by opening a book at random, and applying the first verse that meets the eye to the subject of the inquiry: the best book for the purpose is the Koraun, and the trial ought to be preceded by fasting and prayer, which indeed are necessary in all attempts at divination: other books are, however, employed, and the poems of Haufiz are

perhaps as much used as the Khoraun. The following happy coincidence occurred to a person at Lahore, who consulted Haufiz at the beginning of the troubles produced by the deposition of Shauh Zemaun, which ended, after three years of confusion, in the elevation of Shauh Shujah. His object was to ascertain which of the sons of Timour Shauh would obtain the throne in the end, and the verse that met his eye was the following:

"Seher ze hautifee ghybum reseed moozhdeh begoosh.
Keh Douri Shauhi Shujah ust mye dileer benoosh."

"At the dawn, a voice from the invisible world brought these glad tidings to my ear,
It is the reign of Shauh Shujah; drink wine and be bold."

The Afghauns believe in the power of talismans, in the possibility of acquiring a control over genii and dæmons, and have numberless other superstitions; but I have already given a sufficient specimen of their nature.

CHAPTER VI.

HOSPITALITY.—PREDATORY HABITS, &c.

One of the most remarkable characteristics of the Afghauns, is their hospitality. The practice of this virtue is so much a national point of honour, that their approach to an inhospitable man, is that he has no Pooshtoonwullee (nothing of the customs of the Afghauns). All persons indiscriminately are entitled to profit by this practice; and a man, who travelled over the whole country without money, would never be in want of a meal, unless perhaps in towns. It is the greatest of affronts to an Afghaun to carry off his guest; but his indignation is never directed against the guest who quits him, but the person who invites him away. All the details of the practice of hospitality will appear in the particular account of the tribes; but I shall here mention some customs connected with that principle.

The most remarkable is a custom peculiar to this people, called Nannawautee (from two Pushtoo words, meaning, " I have come in"). A person who has a favour to ask, goes to the house or tent of the man on whom it depends, and refuses to sit on his carpet, or partake of his hospitality, till he shall grant the boon required. The honour of the party thus solicited will incur a stain if he does not grant the

favour asked of him ; and so far is the practice carried, that a man overmatched by his enemies, will sometimes go Nannawautee to the house of another man, and entreat him to take up his quarrel ; which the other is obliged to do, unless he is utterly unable to interfere with effect, or unless some circumstance renders his interference obviously improper.*

A still stronger appeal is made when a woman sends her veil to an Afghaun, and implores his assistance for herself or her family. It was by this expedient that Timour Shauh's queen prevailed on Sirafrauz Khaun (the father of the present Grand Vizeer), to afford his assistance in the elevation of Shauh Zemaun to the throne, an event chiefly brought about by his influence.

This last custom is not connected with the laws of hospitality ; but it is those laws alone which protect every individual who has entered the house of an Afghaun. A man's bitterest enemy is safe while he is under his roof ; and a stranger, who has come into an Afghaun's house or tent, is under the protection of

* It appeared to me at first that there was some resemblance between Nannawautee and the well known Indian custom of Dhurna. They are, however, entirely unlike. In Dhurna, both parties fast ; and it is hunger which enforces a compliance with the demand. In Nannawautee, on the contrary, there is no restraint on either party's eating, and the force of the practice bears on the honour alone of the person to whom it is directed. It is something like the custom of the Romans, by which a suppliant entered a house, and seated himself in silence, with his head veiled, on the hearth. The custom of the Greeks also resembles that now alluded to ; and the behaviour of Ulysses to Circe, when he refuses to partake of her banquet, till she has disenchanted his friends, (Od. K. verse 375, &c.) is exactly in the spirit of Nannawautee.

the master as long as he stays in the village. From this principle arises the obligation of protecting and defending a fugitive, whatever may be his crime; and hence the frequency of elopements with women from one Oolooss to another, and of the refuge found by murderers in a similar flight.

The protection which the rites of hospitality confer, does not, however, extend beyond the lands of the village, or, at most, of the tribe; and there are undoubted testimonies of Afghauns of predatory tribes entertaining a traveller, and dismissing him with presents, and yet robbing him when they met him again, after he was out of their protection.*

It seems astonishing to an European that the reciprocal good offices, which must pass between the host and the guest, should not soon form a connection sufficiently strong to prevent their injuring each other after the rites of hospitality have ceased; and, in fact, there is no point in the Afghaun character of which it is more difficult to get a clear idea, than the mixture of sympathy and indifference, of generosity and rapacity, which is observable in their conduct to strangers. In parts of the country where the government is weak, they seem to think it a matter of course to rob a stranger, while in all other respects they treat him with kindness and civility. So much more do they attend to granting favours than to respecting rights, that the same Afghaun who would plunder a traveller of his cloak, if he had one, would give him a cloak if he had none. If these inconsistencies only

* A most remarkable instance of this spirit has been mentioned in describing the journey of two gentlemen of the Mission, who went to Deraubund.

appeared in their own country, their behaviour might be owing to their natural love of gain, and their point of honour with respect to guests. But how are we to explain the same conduct when their meeting in a foreign country gives the stranger no claims on their hospitality? All the authentic accounts I have of the treatment of strangers by Afghauns, either in their own country or elsewhere, give an impression of philanthropy and politeness, when there was no temptation to depart from those principles. But where there was any inducement to plunder the stranger, and even sometimes when much was to be gained by deceiving him, there was no great appearance of justice and good faith. The truth is, those virtues are not necessary concomitants of general kindness, nor ought we to infer the want of the one from the absence of the other. Justice and good faith cannot perhaps subsist, unless they are supported by laws and government; while the very circumstance of the public's leaving men to themselves, obliges individuals to assist and to depend on each other. It is probably to this last cause that we are to attribute the superiority of most Asiatics in the minor points of general humanity over Englishmen of the same rank in life, to whom they are far inferior in all other good qualities.

The frequency with which travellers are plundered, appears to originate in the defects of the Pooshtoonwullee. That law relies on the exertions of the injured person, his relations and his tribe, for obtaining him justice; and as a stranger has neither relations nor tribe, no provision is made for his security. In proof of this proposition, it may be observed, that

the Afghauns do not in general plunder the lands of their neighbours, or rob individuals who reside in their part of the country, and that it is only travellers who are liable to this oppression. This habit of rapine prevails in very different degrees, at different times, and in different parts of the country. The King's government protects people of all descriptions alike, as far as its power extends; and, in consequence, when the government is established, a man runs little risk, except among the tribes, whose situation enables them to set the King at defiance. During civil wars, on the contrary, the whole kingdom is let loose; and a traveller may be plundered with as much impunity within sight of Caubul as in the mountains of the Vizeerees. The habit of good order, however, prevents the inhabitants of the parts of the country which are usually settled from running into these excesses, and it is probably only the worst individuals among them who betake themselves to habitual rapine.

The tribes most addicted to rapine in the West, are the Atchukzye branch of the Dooraunees, and those of the Noorzyes, who inhabit the desart country on the borders of Persia and Belochistaun, and that part of the Tokhee branch of the Ghiljies which occupies a portion of the Paropamisan mountains. The lands of the rest might be passed with tolerable safety, unless in times of great confusion; but the long disorders of the government are perhaps altering their character in this respect for the worse. The pastoral tribes in the West are said to be more given both to robbery and theft, than those who live by agriculture. All the tribes of the range of Solimaun,

especially the Khyberees and the Vizeerees, are notorious plunderers, and rob under the express direction or sanction of their internal government. The other Eastern Afghauns are all disposed to plunder when they dare. When quite free from all apprehension of the royal power, they openly rob on the highway. When their security is not so great, they levy exorbitant customs, or beg in a manner that is not to be refused, and steal when they dare not rob; but, for a considerable extent round the towns, a traveller is tolerably safe under the protection of the royal authority.

It is possible, in all tribes, except the Khyberees, to obtain a secure passage through their territories by a previous agreement with the chiefs, who, for a small present, will furnish an escort, under whose protection a stranger may travel with perfect safety. A single man is a sufficient escort in most tribes; but where the internal government is very weak, or where there is much fear of theft, it is usual to give a party proportioned to the quantity of property to be defended. It is remarkable that these arrangements are most effectual with the tribes who, having least connection with the King, have usually most predatory habits. In those tribes it seems to be thought that the Oolooss having no relations with a stranger, is at liberty to attack him, and that such an attack is to be considered as honourable war;* but that, when they have promised protection, they are bound in good faith to afford it: the people of the subject tribes, on the other hand, are well aware of the guilt

* For a similar state of manners and opinions in ancient Greece, see Thucydides, book i. chap. v.

of robbery, and when any of them are depraved enough to practise it, little sense of honour is to be expected of them.

In all cases, it must be observed, to the honour of the Afghauns, that their robberies are never aggravated by murder: a man may be killed in defending his property, but he will not be put to death after he has ceased to resist.

I say nothing of the plunder of whole caravans by the leaders of parties during civil wars. This is acknowledged to be an expedient only justified by necessity, and a promise of repayment in better times is always held out to the sufferers.

CHAPTER VII.

MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND CHARACTER OF THE AFGHAUNS.

The manner of life of the Afghauns is by no means uniform throughout the country, and for varieties I must again refer to the detailed accounts of the tribes, but I shall adhere to my plan of mentioning, in this place, all that is common to the whole. One great cause of diversity it is necessary to mention even here. This is the division of the nation into inhabitants of tents and of houses. Those who live in tents are chiefly to be found in the West, where they probably amount to one half of the population: but as all over the East the people live in houses, the proportion of that last class must greatly preponderate in the nation. It is probable that the number of those in tents has diminished, and I am of opinion that it is still diminishing. The facility with which tribes changed their residence in former times, appears to countenance the belief that most of them were shepherds, and lived in tents, though it cannot be denied that great emigrations of agricultural tribes have also taken place.

The movement of the Eusofzyes from the frontiers of Persia Proper to those of India is related in another place. The other tribes round Peshawer are

also traced from the east of Khorassaun to their present seats: at a still later period, the Ghiljies moved from a great part of their lands, at the command of Naudir Shauh, and made room for a portion of the Dooraunees. This, however, was a compulsory removal, enforced by a powerful conqueror, and no voluntary emigration is known to have occurred within a century; a proof, as it appears to me, that the people have betaken themselves to agriculture, a pursuit which naturally attaches themselves to the soil. It is not, perhaps, so evident that this disposition is still increasing, but we find numbers of people, who, though they still live in tents, yet are employed in husbandry, and never move from their fields; and this seems very obviously to be a stage in their progress from moving with the seasons, and cultivating a spot of ground at their summer station, to building houses for permanent residence. A recent example is found in the Stooreeaunees, of a tribe which has abandoned pasturage for tillage; but, on the other hand, there do not want examples of people who have exchanged a fixed for a wandering life.

One of the most judicious of modern travellers has observed, that though habit may render a wandering life agreeable, yet there are only two causes which can originally have induced men to adopt it.

1st. The badness of the soil of their country, which obliges them to wander far in search of subsistence; and, 2nd, the operation of the bad government under which they live, compelling them to elude its oppression by a frequent change of abode.* I must confess

* Voyage par Volney, chap. xxiii. sect. 3. I cannot mention this writer without offering my slender tribute of applause to his merits.

the example of the Afghauns does not lead me to agree with this theory. Among the Afghauns, a pastoral life appears to me to be the most popular; men enter on it with pleasure, and abandon it with regret, and it is to habit chiefly that we are to attribute the rareness of examples of tribes relinquishing their fields to betake themselves to pasturage. Besides exemption from the oppression of the royal government (an exemption by no means peculiar to shepherd tribes), the pastoral life has many advantages to recommend it. It is easy, careless, and secure, supplying plenty without demanding labour, uniting the advantages of various climates, and affording a relief from the listlessness of idleness in frequent change of scene, and in the never-failing resource of field sports. The shepherds are also in a great measure emancipated even from the control of their internal government, by their dispersion for the greater part of the year. A few families closely connected by blood, and enjoying an extent of country far beyond their wants, need no magistrate to preserve their peace; and although the state of a freeman under the limited authorities of an Oolooss, may be independent, it cannot be compared with that of a society alike exempt from the restraint of government and the disorders of anarchy. The principal motive I can discover for the relinquishment of so enviable a way of life, is the same which M. Volney has assigned for its adoption:

Among many other talents, he possesses in a remarkable degree that of pointing out what is peculiar to the manners and institutions of the East, by comparing and contrasting them with those of Europe; so far does he excel all other writers in this respect, that if one wishes thoroughly to understand other travellers in Mahommedan countries, it is necessary to have read Volney first.

the difficulty of procuring subsistence. This difficulty must be experienced in a much greater degree by a given number of shepherds, than by an equal number of husbandmen, and accordingly it is only while the population is very confined in proportion to the country, that a pastoral life can be agreeable. The increase both of men and flocks soon occasions disputes about the right to pasture on particular tracts, and each shepherd finding his limits narrowed as his wants extend, is compelled to add to his means of support by tillage, a change by which ten acres is made to maintain more men than ten miles could do before. I am far from denying that there are countries, the unfitness of which for agriculture obliges the inhabitants to adhere to pasturage, or that the badness of a government may drive people into this mode of life; but I contend that there are other inducements arising from the nature of that life itself, and I object to the extension of a theory, which is true of Syria to all wandering tribes.

The tents of shepherds will be described hereafter, as will the various sorts of houses in use in Afghaunistaun. The commonest house by far is built of unburned brick, one story high, and roofed either with a terrace supported by beams, or with low cupolas of the same material as the walls. As tables and chairs are unknown, there is little or no furniture, except a coarse woollen carpet, and some pieces of felt* to sit on.

* As I shall have frequent occasion to mention this sort of felt, it will be convenient to describe it once for all. It is made of wool (generally of that which is shorn off the camlet, carpets, and other woollen manufactures). It is made by the women, who wet the wool

The Berdooraunees, indeed, sit on low beds, with bottoms of leather or of cord, and the people in towns have often broad benches raised round the room (which they call sopha or sufeh), but the general practice is to sit on the ground. When men are at their ease, they sit cross-legged, or put their legs into any attitude that is agreeable to them; but when there is the least ceremony, they sit in a more formal position, which is assumed by the person's kneeling, and then sinking back on his heels, so that his legs are tucked under him, and completely concealed by the skirts of his tunic. This way of sitting is intolerable to an European, but the joints of Asiatics are so supple, that although their legs are pressed quite flat on the ground, yet they remain in this posture without inconvenience for whole days.

Their ordinary employment, when seated, is conversation, and every now and then a culleaun is passed round for smoking, and after a whiff or two is sent away. The common culleaun in Afghaunistaun is made of earthenware, and shaped like a very broad bottle with a wide neck. People in better circumstances have them of various shapes, made of glass, or more frequently of pewter, ornamented with flowers, &c. in brass. This is filled with water, and two ornamented wooden pipes are introduced into it; one of them is perpendicular, and has at the top a cup

and then work it up, rolling it over and kneading it with their hands till it assumes a consistency: it is then spread out to the size required, and when finished is from a quarter to half an inch thick, and is soft and pliant: that worn by the people is much thinner. The common colours are grey and black, but those used in the houses of the rich, which are of a close texture, are of a light brown, ornamented with peculiar patterns of flowers in faint colours.

containing tobacco and charcoal; the other is the mouth-piece from which the smoke is inhaled, after passing through the water, by which it is cooled and cleared of some oily particles which would otherwise accompany it. All the Persians use this pipe at short intervals throughout the day. They are much more particular about the elegance of their culleauns than the Afghauns, and the latter, to ridicule the importance attached to them by the Persians, tell a story of some men of that nation, who, on being asked at the end of a long journey, whether it had been a pleasant one, replied, that the only serious inconvenience they experienced, was from the want of a culleaun, there being only eleven among the twelve persons who composed the party.

The Afghauns are by no means so much addicted to smoking: many people never use tobacco in that form, and in the country there is often no culleaun in a village, except a very large one which is kept for the use of the whole at the public apartment. The Afghauns indemnify themselves for their moderation in this respect by the use of snuff, to which they are all much addicted. Their snuff is a dry and fine powder like Scotch snuff, and it is not kept in flat boxes like ours, but in round or oval ones, formed of the shell of a fruit, (which they call Balaughoon, and the Indians Bail), and which is imported in great quantities from Hindoostaun for this purpose. These boxes have no lids, but there is a small hole at the top for pouring out the snuff. They are sometimes carved over with exquisite workmanship.

When a visitor comes in, he salutes the party by saying Assalaum Alaikoom, "Peace be unto you," to

which they answer, O Alaik Assalaum, "And unto thee be peace." The master of the house then rises, takes the stranger's hand within his own, and addresses him, "Shu Raughlee, Hurcul Rausheh," &c. "You are welcome, may you often come," &c. The stranger replies, "Shu pu kheiree," "May you prosper." The master of the house then points out a seat to his guest, and when they are seated, inquires after his health, and enters on conversation. These ceremonies are always performed even by the poorest Afghauns, but when they are over, no people are less ceremonious; a certain degree of gravity generally prevails, but it never excludes free and cheerful conversation, and is sometimes broken in upon by a hearty laugh.*

They are a sociable people. Besides the large entertainments which are given on marriages and similar occasions, they have parties of five or six to dine with them as often as they can afford to kill a sheep. The guests are received with the ceremonies I have described, and when all have arrived, the master of the house or some of his family serves every one with water to wash his hands, and then brings in dinner. It generally consists of boiled mutton, and the broth in which the meat is boiled, with no addition but salt, and sometimes pepper. This soup, which they generally eat with bread soaked in it, is said to be very palatable. Their drink is butter-milk or sherbet. In some places they drink a liquor made from sheep's milk, which has an enlivening, if not an in-

* Mr. Durie says of the Western Afghauns, "They are a sober people, and do not laugh much; but they talk a good deal, and seem familiar amongst themselves. At times they are as merry as any people in the world."

toxicating quality. During dinner, the master recommends his dishes, presses the guests to eat, and tells them not to spare, for there is plenty. They say a grace before and after dinner; and, when all is done, the guests bless the master of the house. After dinner, they sit and smoke, or form a circle to tell tales and sing. The old men are the great story tellers. Their tales are of Kings and Vizeers, of genii and fairies, but principally of love and war. They are often mixed with songs and verses, and always end in a moral. They delight in these tales and songs. All sit in silence while a tale is telling; and, when it is done, there is a general cry of "Ai Shawash!" * their usual expression of admiration. Their songs are mostly about love; but they have numerous ballads, celebrating the wars of their tribe, and the exploits of individual chiefs. As soon as a chief of any name dies, songs are made in honour of his memory. Besides these songs, some men recite odes, or other passages from the poets; and others play the flute, the rubaub (a sort of lute or guitar), the camauncheh and sarindeh (two kinds of fiddles), or the soornaun, which is a species of hautboy. The singers usually accompany their voice with the rubaub or the fiddle. Their songs are often made by the husbandmen and shepherds; oftener by professed Shauyers (a sort of minstrel, between a poet and a ballad-singer); and sometimes by authors of reputation of past or present times.

The favourite amusement of all the Afghauns is the

* "Ah, well done!" Perhaps the original words are "Ai shauh baush," Ah, be a King!

chase, which is followed in various modes according to the nature of the country, and the game to be pursued. Large parties often assemble on horseback, or on foot, and form a crescent, which sweeps the country for a great extent, and is sure to rouse whatever game is in their range. They manage so as to drive it into a valley or some other convenient place, when they close in, fall on it with their dogs and guns, and often kill one or two hundred head of game in a day. Still more frequently a few men go out together, with their greyhounds and their guns, to course hares, foxes, and deer, or shoot any game that may fall in their way.

In some parts of the country they take hares, or perhaps rabbits, with ferrets. They shoot deer with stalking bullocks and camels, trained to walk between them and the game, so as to conceal the hunter. In winter, they track wolves and other wild animals in the snow, and shoot them in their dens. In some places they dig a hole in the ground near a spring, and conceal themselves there, to shoot the deer and other animals that come at night to drink. They also go out at night to shoot hyænas, which issue from their dens at that time, and prowl about in the dark for their prey. They never shoot birds flying, but fire with small shot at them as they are sitting or running on the ground. They have no hawking, except in the East; but they often ride down partridges in a way which is much easier of execution than one would imagine. Two or more horsemen put up a partridge, which makes a short flight and sits down; a horseman then puts it up again. The hunters relieve one another, so as to allow the bird no rest, till

it becomes too much tired to fly, when they ride it over as it runs, or knock it down with sticks.

Though hunting be a very popular amusement throughout the whole kingdom, it is most practised by the Western Afghauns; among whom also the songs and tales before described are found in most perfection, and to whom the amusements I am about to mention are in a great measure confined. Races are not uncommon, especially at marriages. The bridegroom gives a camel to be run for; twenty or thirty horses start, and they run for ten or twelve miles over the best ground they can find. They have also private matches; but no plates given by the King, as is usual in Persia. It is a common amusement with the better sort to tilt with their lances, in the rest, at a wooden peg, stuck in the ground, which they endeavour to knock over, or to pick up on the point of their spears. They also practise their carbines and matchlocks on horseback; and all ranks fire at marks with guns, or with bows and arrows. On these occasions there are often from ten to twenty of a side, sometimes men of different villages, or different quarters of the same. They shoot for some stake, commonly for a dinner, but never for any large sum of money. Their amusements at home are also very numerous, though cards are unknown, and dice hardly ever used. The great delight of all the Western Afghauns, is to dance the Attun or Ghoomboor. From ten to twenty men or women stand up in a circle (in summer before their houses and tents, and in winter round a fire); a person stands within the circle, to sing, and play on some instrument. The dancers go through a number of attitudes and

figures; shouting, clapping their hands, and snapping their fingers. Every now and then they join hands, and move slow or fast, according to the music, all joining in chorus. When I was showed this, a love song was sung to an extremely pretty tune, very simple, and not unlike a Scottish air.

Most of their games appear to us very childish, and can scarcely be reconciled to their long beards and grave behaviour. Marbles are played by grown-up men through all the Afghaun country and Persia, and, I believe, in Turkey. A game very generally played, is one called *Khossye* by the Dooraunees, and *Cubuddee* by the Taujiks. A man takes his left foot in his right hand, and hops about on one leg, endeavouring to overset his adversary, who advances in the same way. This is played by several of a side, and is more complicated than I have made it, but still a strange game for grown-up men. Prisoners' base, quoits (played with circular flat stones), and a game like hunt the slipper (played with a cap), are also very common, as are wrestling, and other trials of strength and skill. Fighting-quails, cocks, dogs, rams, and even camels, are also much admired. I have seen camels matched; and, during their rutting season, they fight with great fury. When the battle ends, the spectators had need to clear the way for the beaten camel, who runs off at its utmost speed, and is often pursued by the victor to a distance from the field of battle. All these games are played for some stake; sometimes for money; sometimes the winner takes the beaten cock, ram, or camel, but the general stake is a dinner.

The dress of the men varies; but that now used in

the west appears to me to be the original dress of the whole nation. It consists of a pair of loose trowsers of dark-coloured cotton; a large shirt,* like a waggoner's frock, but with wider sleeves, and only reaching a little below the knee; a low cap (shaped like a Hulan's cap), the sides of which are of black silk or satin, and the top of gold brocade, or of some bright-coloured cloth; and a pair of half-boots of brown leather, laced or buttoned up to the calf: over this for a great part of the year is thrown a large cloak of well-tanned sheep-skin, with the wool inside, or of soft and pliant grey felt. This garment is worn loose over the shoulders, with the sleeves hanging down, and reaches to the ankles. In the cities and more civilized parts of the country, the dress generally worn resembles that of Persia; and along the eastern borders of Afghaunistaun, it in some respects approaches that of India.

The women wear a shirt like that of the men, but much longer. It is made of finer materials, and generally coloured or embroidered with flowers in silk; in the west, it is often entirely of silk. They wear coloured trowsers, tighter than those of the men; and have a small cap of bright-coloured silk, embroidered with gold thread, which scarcely comes down to the forehead or the ears; and a large sheet, either plain or printed, which they throw over their heads, and with which they hide their faces when a stranger approaches. In the west the women often tie a black

* They call this shirt Cameess, which I believe is also the Arabic for a shirt. The Italian is camiscia, and the French chemise; but as it was not till after the Crusades that this garment was worn in Europe, the term must have originated in the East.

handkerchief round their heads over their caps. They divide the hair over their faces, and plait it into two locks, which fasten at the back of their heads.

Their ornaments are strings of Venetian sequins, worn round their heads, and chains of gold or silver, which are hooked up over the forehead, pass round the head, and end in two large balls, which hang down near the ears. Ear-rings and rings on the fingers are also worn, as are pendants in the middle cartilage of the nose, which was formerly the custom of Persia, and still is in India and Arabia. Such is the dress of the married women, the unmarried are distinguished by wearing white trowsers, and by having their hair loose.

The conveyances of Afghaunistaun are so different from our own, that it is necessary to say a few words regarding them: those used in commerce and agriculture will be mentioned elsewhere, I here speak of those employed by travellers. There are no wheel-carriages in the country (or in any part of Persia), and palankeens are not used: the common way of travelling for both sexes, is on horseback. The ordinary pace is a very long walk, which carries a horse on at the rate of five or six miles an hour. Couriers, and people going long journeys, trot; but that is not a common pace for travellers, and it is reckoned a proof of levity in a man of the upper classes to gallop, unless on some occasion that really requires speed. No man thinks of trotting or galloping when he is riding for pleasure, or going from one house to another.

There are two sorts of furniture for horses, the Persian and the Uzbek; of which the latter is most used, The Persian bridle is a sort of snaffle, which, instead

of cheeks, has two (or four) large rings passed through holes in the ends of the snaffle to receive the reins. The snaffle itself has sometimes sharp points to prick the horse's mouth when he pulls. This bridle is adorned with silver chains and other ornaments. The saddle sits near the horse's back, but rises much both before and behind, so as to give the rider a strong seat; but the peaks are generally so close, as to make it extremely uncomfortable to those who are not used to it. The peak in front is the higher of the two, and is composed of painted wood, gold and silver curiously embossed, or gold enamelled, according to the circumstances of the owner. The Uzbek snaffle is exactly like our own, except that the cheeks are larger in proportion. The head-stall is ornamented with a few gold or silver studs at the joinings, and there is an ornament like a flower-de-luce of the same material in the angle between the nose-band and the cheek-band.

There is no band across the forehead. The reins both of the Uzbek and Persian bridles are narrow, and very neat. They are made of good brown leather, and sometimes, but rarely, of green shagreen leather. Martingales are not much worn; when they are, they are very loose; they divide like our martingales, but do not run on the reins, being fastened to the cheeks of the bit. The tight standing martingale, with which the natives of India tie down their horses' heads, and cramp their action, is not known. There is also a breast band, with a large silver or gold knob in front, shaped like the cupola of a mosque, and they generally use cruppers. The whole, particularly the Uzbek bridle, is very handsome, and shows a horse off

even better than our own. The Uzbek saddle is raised high above the horse's back by the shape of the tree. It is much larger and more commodious than the Persian, and not so high either behind or before. The peak in front is divided and turns down, so as to form two curls like Ionic volutes. Neither of these saddles is stuffed below, both are placed on two or three thick blankets or felts, and tied on by a girth which passes through two holes in the lower part of the tree. The Persian saddle, indeed, is often merely a tree, like those of Hussars. People who carry pistols have holsters, and those who do not, have two bags in place of them, for carrying a spare horse-shoe, or any other little thing they want. These bags have a large flap of embroidered cloth, and with common horsemen of carpeting, which looks very well. The poor have the ornaments I have described, made of tinned iron, instead of gold or silver. There are different kinds of stirrups; the commonest is like our own, except that the ends of the arch are prolonged beyond the bar on which the foot rests; another, not uncommon, has a flat plate of iron nine inches long, and four or five broad, for the foot to rest on instead of a bar. Their housings are confined to one piece, which reaches from the saddle almost to the horse's tail, and hangs down a good way on each side. The common people have it of coarse black cloth, wrought all over with worsted of different colours, or of the skin of a leopard, or other wild beast, but the great have them of velvet, with the richest embroidery, and sometimes of cloth of gold, ornamented with jewels and with pearl fringe. The great also have the pommels of their saddles set with jewels, and have all their

trappings adorned with gold and precious stones ; but this is on occasions of pomp ; in ordinary times they are very plain. Horses are always led by mounted grooms, not by men on foot as in India ; and when the master dismounts at a strange house, the groom mounts his horse till he has finished his visit : this they think good for the horse.

Women often travel in cudjawas (the sort of hamper already mentioned), a few of the King's go on elephants, and others in a kind of litter. The King himself has been known to travel on an elephant, and more frequently in a kind of litter, called in India a Nalkee, which is borne on men's shoulders by poles which pass beneath the bottom. This is peculiar to the King, but some few of the nobles are entitled to ride in a conveyance called a Jaumpaun, which is like a short palankeen, with an arched top, slung on three poles (like what is called a Tonjon in India), and carried high over the shoulders of the bearers. There are also little inconvenient litters in use in the East for sick people. These are all carried by men, I believe by Hindoos, though their long beards and sheepskin caps give them an appearance very different from the Hindoos of India.

The baggage of travellers is carried on camels or mules. The commonest of the first sort are those used in India, which, though always called camels, are the dromedary of natural historians. Mules are the best carriage, as they will nearly keep up with a horse at his full walk ; but they are expensive, and are, therefore, only used by the rich.

There are no posts in Afghaunistaun. The King sends his despatches by mounted couriers, called

Chuppers, who make surprising journeys, and who are supplied with fresh horses by the chiefs of the places where they happen to require them. It is astonishing what exertions these men will go through, without any preparation but that of wrapping cloths round their bodies and limbs, as tight as possible, to diminish the soreness of their muscles in the course of a fatiguing journey. The King's Chuppers do not carry letters for other people; they are indeed rather a superior class of men, and are often entrusted with important messages; other people, however, hire Chuppers when they want them, and great men keep them in their constant employ. The bulk of the people send their letters by Cossids (or foot-messengers), who travel at a great rate, and often reach Caubul from Peshawer, two hundred and ten miles, in four days.

There are slaves in Afghaunistaun, as in all Mussulmaun countries, and I shall now give a short account of their situation.

By far the greater part are home-born, but some supplies are received from foreign countries. Abyssinians and Negroes are sometimes brought from Arabia; the Beloches sell Persians and other people whom they seize in their forays; and a good many Caufirs are purchased from their own nation, or made prisoners by the Eusofzyes on their border. This, however, is the only instance of the Afghauns carrying off slaves, a practice which they hold in detestation.. The Caufir captives are generally women, and they are greatly sought after on account of the remarkable beauty of their nation. The other slaves are generally employed in menial offices, but in the

country, and particularly among the Dooraunee farmers, they are also greatly used in agriculture. They are not, however, required to supply the place of cattle, as in our colonies, but do the same work as the freemen. Their treatment, in other respects, is suitable to this practice; they eat with their masters, when in the lower walks of life, and are clad in the same manner; they are allowed to have property, and their masters make them presents, buy wives for them, &c. They marry the daughters of other slaves, and the owner of the girl is entitled to her price; but I am told that he generally gives it up to her father, or bestows it on the girl herself; I suppose this must be the price of a wife, which is paid on the part of a husband, and does not impair the master's rights over his slave; for I cannot suppose that the owner would consent to lose her services without being paid for her, particularly as marriage would increase her value, since her owner would be entitled to her offspring.

I can see no signs of the condition of the slaves employed in agriculture improving into villanage. They, for the most part, live in their master's house; but even when the field on which they work is so distant as to require their having a hut or tent there, they are not at all attached to the soil, and are moved from field to field as occasion requires; they are not, indeed, in sufficient numbers to allow of their being attached to particular spots. They have no share in the produce of their labour, and are kept to work by the attention of the owner alone, or of some freeman interested in the work. They are seldom beaten. Grown up slaves belonging to people in moderate

circumstances, consider themselves as part of the family, and perceive that they must labour in order to enable their master to support them, as well as to maintain himself. Female slaves are kept as concubines, are maids to the mistress of the house, or in poor families assist her in her domestic labours.

Among the Uzbeks, the master often agrees to enfranchise his slave when he can pay a certain sum, or promises to do so if he will serve well for a certain number of years. The magistrate enforces these engagements. The Afghauns and Persians, on the contrary, think it a disgrace to release a slave for money, but they often give them their liberty for good service, or emancipate them on their death-beds. I have heard of a great Khaun who thought he was dying, and desired all his slaves who had any dislike to his son to come and receive from him a paper, setting them free in the legal forms. The Afghauns have always a great horror at making people slaves; they revile the Uzbeks for this practice, and apply to them with great disgust the appellation of Audam farosh, or sellers of men.

An author, by no means partial to the Afghauns, bears testimony to this way of thinking among them; but as the bulk of their slaves are descended from captives taken in their early campaigns against the Hindoos, I suspect that their barbarous religion encourages them to practise towards idolaters the very crime which they so much abhor when the sufferer is a true believer.*

* The following passage from Père Krusinski, is that alluded to in the text. "Le traitement qu'ils (les Agvans) font à ceux qui deviennent leurs captifs par le droit de la guerre n'a rien de la barbarie de

The Afghaun women are described as large (compared to those of India), and very fair and handsome.

The men are all of a robust make, and are generally lean, though bony and muscular. They have high noses, high cheek-bones, and long faces. Their hair and beards are generally black, sometimes brown, and rarely red. Their hair is always coarse and strong; they shave the middle part of the head, but wear the rest of their hair. The tribes near towns wear it short, but the rest have long and large locks hanging down on each side of the head. They wear long and thick beards. Their countenance has an expression of manliness and deliberation, united to an air of simplicity, not allied to weakness. The eastern Afghauns have the national features most strongly marked; though they have least of the expression above alluded to. The lineaments of the western tribes are less distinct, and exhibit a much greater variety of countenance, some of them having blunt features, entirely different from those I have described: their high cheek-bones, however, never leave them. The western Afghauns are larger and stouter than those of the east, and some Dooraunees and Ghiljies are of surprising strength and stature;

la plupart des autres nations de l'orient. Ils regardent comme une inhumanité atroce, et dont ils ont horreur, l'usage de ceux qui les vendent pour esclaves. Il est bien vrai qu'ils se font servir par eux; mais, outre que dans le tems même de leur servitude, ils les traitent avec bonté et en ont du soin, ils ne manquent jamais, pour peu qu'ils en soient contents, de leur rendre la liberté au bout d'un certain tems: autant différens des autres peuples de l'Asie à cet egard qu'ils le sont du côté des bonnes mœurs."

Histoire de la dernière Révolution de Perse, tome i. pages 166, 167.

but, generally speaking, the Afghauns are not so tall as the English.

The eastern Afghauns have generally dark complexions, approaching to that of the Hindostaunees; while those of the west are olive, with a healthy colour and appearance; but among them, as among the eastern Afghauns, men as swarthy as Indians, and others as fair as Europeans, are to be met with in the same neighbourhood: the fair are by much the most common in the west, and the dark in the east.

Besides this difference, which is created by climate, the eastern and western Afghauns are distinguished by other peculiarities, which appear in general to arise from the different quarters from which the two divisions have acquired their manners.

Those of the west have derived their civilization from the Persians, and those of the east from the Indians, and each resembles in dress and manners the people with which it is thus connected; while the inhabitants of the central part of the south, equally remote from both of the great empires to which I have alluded, and at a distance from great roads, appear to have retained the original habits of their own nation. From the superior extent of the country inhabited by the western tribes, and from the supremacy which two of those tribes have at different times maintained over the whole, the Persian dress, manners, and language decidedly prevail in the nation, and are recognised even in those parts where the Indian customs have acquired most force. It is to be observed, that every thing borrowed from the Persians and Indians, is preserved as it was at the time when first adopted, and consequently varies considerably

from the actual practice of both countries in these days. The Indian dress and customs are those of Shauh Jehaun's days; and the Persian, those of the time of Naudir Shauh. Though the latter period is by much the shortest, the great change which has taken place in Persia, makes the contrast more striking than in the other case.*

The manners of the Afghauns are frank and open. Though manly and independent, they are entirely free from that affectation of military pride and ferocity which is so conspicuous in their descendants, the Pitans of India. When their address is bad, it is rustic, but never fierce or insolent; the Indian Pitans seem to have copied the peculiar manners of the Eusofzyes, to whom a haughty and arrogant carriage is natural. About towns the Afghauns are in some degree polished, and show respect to superiors; but in many parts of the country they are plain, and make little distinction of ranks: they all, however, show great reverence for old age.

Though the Afghauns have that ease of manner which strikes every observer in comparing the behaviour of Asiatics with that of Europeans, yet it is not

* There cannot be a greater mistake than to suppose that eastern nations never change their fashions. Our present dress is at least as like that of Charles the Second's reign, as the present dress of the Persians is to that worn when Chardin travelled. No less a change has taken place in India; the jokes of the young courtiers of Delhi on the old-fashioned dress and manners of Nizam Ool Moolk, had effects that make a figure in history; and as the dress of the Mogul noblemen at Dehli, and in the Deccan, must have been the same eighty or ninety years ago, and are now quite different, it is evident one or other must have changed, if not both. The truth is, European travellers do not perceive slight changes in a dress entirely different from their own.

uncommon to find them bashful, a defect which I have never witnessed in any other Asiatic. Except on formal occasions, they use a good deal of gesture, but it is always of a grave kind, such as stretching out the arm, and bending forward the body. They have, perhaps, more of this kind of action than the Persians, though not near so lively a people; but they by no means equal the gesticulation of the Indians.*

They are also free from that puerility which is perhaps the distinguishing characteristic of the last-mentioned people. I found their conversation and their inquiries, though not enlarged, always rational; and they did not seem much delighted with those baubles which generally form the most acceptable presents in India.

The Afghauns are accused by the Persians of ignorance and barbarism; stupidity is, indeed, the proverbial reproach of all Khorassaun. They certainly have neither the refinement nor the subtlety of their western neighbours, and their want of much intercourse with foreign nations undoubtedly narrows their views, and, on some subjects, contracts their understandings; but from their state of society, in which every man is obliged to protect his own rights, and

* I may be allowed, in comparing them with a foreign nation, to speak of the inhabitants of this vast empire as one people; but it must not be forgotten that there is a great diversity among the Indians themselves: thus the tall and well-made Hindostaunee speaks extremely slow, and though he uses a good deal of gesture, does not approach to the violence of action employed by the small, black, and shrivelled inhabitant of the Carnatic, who speaks on the most trifling subject with a degree of volubility and eagerness to which no occasion could rouse an Englishman.

where he is at the same time of some importance to the community, their faculties must be a good deal exerted and improved; and accordingly the bulk of the people are remarkable for prudence, good sense, and observation: they have also a degree of curiosity which is a relief to a person habituated to the apathy of the Indians. They always showed a desire to be informed about the state of countries at a distance from their own; and some were very anxious to improve themselves by acquiring a knowledge of our sciences. I gave a short account of the Copernican system, (which was published in Persian by Dr. Hunter,) to a Moollah who accompanied me to Calcutta, and two years after his return I received a list of queries addressed to the Newtonianaun English (English Newtonians), requiring an explanation of some parts of the system which had embarrassed the learned at Peshawer.*

While in Calcutta, I carried a great many Afghauns of all ranks, from Moollahs to grooms, to see the arsenal, to visit ships, and to some other sights which were new to them, and it was extremely pleasing to see the interest they took in every thing, and the gratification they received. One of the Moollahs, however, was greatly disappointed in not finding the wheel used for boring cannon turned by steam, as he had read in the travels of Meerza Abo Taulib was the case in England. I have often seen natives of India at spectacles of the same nature, and though they always were polite enough to express much admi-

* My own ignorance of the subject, and the difficulty of finding a person here who is both a Persian scholar and a mathematician, have hitherto prevented my replying to this paper.

ration, they did it with a calmness that showed how little they were interested, while the questions which they sometimes asked were of such a nature as to leave no doubt that their only object was to keep up conversation.*

All communication with the Afghauns is rendered agreeable by the dependence which can be placed on what they say. Though they are far behind Europeans in veracity, and would seldom scruple to deceive both in statements and promises, if their own interest were to be promoted by their dishonesty, yet they have not that indifference to truth, and that style of habitual and gratuitous falsehood, which astonishes an European in natives of India and Persia. A man of the first nation seems incapable of observing any thing accurately; and one of the second, of describing it truly; but unless some prejudice can be discovered to mislead the observer, or some motive is apparent for misrepresenting the truth, one may generally rely on the Afghauns both for correctness and fidelity.

All the Afghauns are remarkably hardy and active. From the nature of their country they are exposed to the necessity of enduring cold and heat, and accustomed to the exertion of climbing mountains, making long journeys on foot and on horseback, and swimming broad and rapid torrents: nor is this confined to the lower orders, or to men in the vigour of youth. As there is no easier conveyance in the country than a horse, all ranks acquire these habits; so that old

* The Persians are too acute and intelligent to have any of this insensibility, but they are too full of themselves to be very curious about other nations.

Meerzas (or secretaries), who seem hardly able to sit on horseback, will ride at a good pace up and down the steepest and roughest passes, or along the edge of precipices where one is almost afraid to walk. Almost all of them are, however, impatient of hot climates; and when on campaigns in India, the approach of summer used to thin their armies by desertions, even in the vigorous reign of Ahmed Shauh. This is the most surprising, when it is remembered how much of the Afghaun country is in a hot climate.

They are industrious and laborious when pursuing any object of business or pleasure. No people are more diligent in husbandry, and many of them are indefatigable in the chase; but when not so excited they are indolent.

The love of gain seems to be their ruling passion: most of the Dooraunee chiefs prefer hoarding up their great but useless treasures to the power, reputation, and esteem which the circumstances of the times would enable them to command by a moderate liberality. The influence of money on the whole nation is spoken of by those who know them best, as boundless, and it is not denied by themselves.

Their love of independence has already been noticed as influencing their government: it appears in some shape in most of their opinions and transactions. Their highest praise in speaking of a well-governed country is, that "every man eats the produce of his own field," and that "nobody has any concern with his neighbour."*

* Khood meekaurund, khood meekhoorund. Kussee bau kussee ghurruz nedaurud.

The love of personal independence is, however, very remote from selfishness. The nature of their society, where power consists in the number of a man's relations, produces a very strong attachment between members of the same family, and there is no Afghaun who would not show his devotion to his clan, if he saw it engaged in any contest. I must except from what I say of family attachment, the rivalry which the elections of chiefs occasion in the head families; the force of blood is never much felt among kings, and the chiefship of a little tribe is as elevated a station in the eyes of those who contend for it as a crown among great princes. This does not indeed happen among brothers, but it is so remarkable in more distant relations, that Turboor, which literally means a cousin, is now the common word in Pushtoo for a rival. I have already shown how their clannish spirit diminishes their general patriotism, but they all take a lively interest in the *Nung du Pooshtauneh*, or honour of the Afghaun name; and they are extremely attached to the country that gave them birth, and to the scenes of their early pleasures. A native of the wild valley of Speiga, north-east of Ghuznee, who was obliged to fly his country for some offence, was once giving me an account of his travels: he concluded by enumerating the countries he had visited, and by comparing them with his own: "I have seen all Persia and India, Georgia, Tartary, and Belochistaun, but I have seen no such place as Speiga, in all my travels."

They are all very proud of their descent; a great part of their histories is taken up by genealogies; they will hardly acknowledge a man for an Afghaun

who cannot make his proofs by going back six or seven generations; and even, in their ordinary conversation, they often stop to enumerate the forefathers of any person who happens to be mentioned.*

They are all kind to their immediate dependents, of whatever nation or religion; but the case is different with people who are under their authority, without being personally connected with them. The countries which are completely subdued, as Cashmeer and the provinces on the Indus, suffer much from the rapacity of individuals, and if they do not often undergo the extremes of tyranny, it is only because wanton cruelty and insolence are no part of the Afghaun character.

Their independence and pretensions to equality make them view the elevation of their neighbours with jealousy, and communicate a deep tinge of envy to their disposition. The idea that they are neglected and passed over, while their equals are attended to, will lead them to renounce a friendship of long standing, or a party to which they have been zealously attached. Unless, however, they meet with particular wrongs or insults, they are said to be faithful in friendship once formed, and mindful of favours, if not effaced by subsequent slights. I can answer for this peculiarity in their character, that they will do

* I remember a striking instance of this in a Dowlutkhail whom I wished to interrogate about Tuk in Damaun, the chief town of his tribe. He began his answer: "Tuk is the city of Surwur, the son of Kuttaul Khaun, the son of Seleem Khaun, the son of Meer Sooltaun Khaun, the son of Shauh Aulum Khaun, the son of Mahommed Zemaun Khaun, the son of Zuffer Khaun, the son of Khaun Zemaun, who lived in the reign of Jehaungeer, the offspring of Timour the Lame."

any thing that is wanted of them with much more zeal, if a present is made to them in advance, than if it is withheld in the hope of quickening them by expectancy.

It may be foreseen from their customs, which make private revenge a duty, that they will long retain the remembrance of injuries; but this is true only of such serious injuries, as they are bound in honour to retaliate; in affairs of less consequence, they are neither irritable nor implacable.

I know no people in Asia who have fewer vices, or are less voluptuous or debauched; but this is most remarkable in the west: the people of towns are acquiring a taste for debauchery, and those in the north-east of the country are already far from being pure. The Afghauns themselves complain of the corruption of manners, and of the decline of sincerity and good faith, and say that their nation is assimilating to the Persians. Their sentiments and conduct towards that nation, greatly resemble those which we discovered some years ago towards the French. Their national antipathy, and a strong sense of their own superiority, do not prevent them imitating Persian manners, while they declaim against the practice, as depraving their own. They are fully sensible of the advantage which Persia has over them at present, from the comparative union and vigour of her councils, and they regard the increase of her power with some degree of apprehension, which is diminished by their inattention to the future, and by their confidence in themselves. To sum up the character of the Afghauns in a few words; their vices are revenge, envy, avarice,

rapacity, and obstinacy ; on the other hand, they are fond of liberty, faithful to their friends, kind to their dependents, hospitable, brave, hardy, frugal, laborious, and prudent ; and they are less disposed than the nations in their neighbourhood to falsehood, intrigue, and deceit.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE INHABITANTS OF TOWNS.

I HAVE hitherto confined myself to those points of character or manners which apply to the whole, or nearly the whole, of the Afghaun nation. I shall now proceed to describe the peculiarities of the different classes of which it is composed. Enough has been said, for the present, of the difference between the eastern and western Afghauns ; some particular orders of men have also been incidentally described ; and the pastoral and agricultural classes will be spoken of in great detail hereafter. The first description of people whom I have now to examine are, therefore, the inhabitants of towns ; and here one is struck with the circumstance, that the greater part of this branch of the population is not composed of Afghauns. It may seem strange to a person in Europe, that the towns should not be inhabited by the masters of the country, yet such was the case in England after the Norman invasion, and such it still is in Uzbek Tartary, and in some measure in Persia, and probably the reason has in all cases been the same ; the ruling nation has thought it degrading to pursue the trades which assemble men in towns, and none have resided there but great men and their retainers, who are drawn thither by the court ; ac-

cordingly the only Afghauns who reside in towns, are great men and their followers, soldiers, Moollahs, a few who follow commerce (a pursuit not despised among this people), and some of the poorest of the nation, who work as labourers. No Afghaun ever keeps a shop, or exercises any handicraft trade. The greater part of the people employed in these occupations, are Taujiks, a nation who are intermixed with the Afghauns in great numbers throughout all the western part of their country, and who are found even in the east; where, however, the trades alluded to are more frequently exercised by Hindkees, a people of Indian origin, who are scattered over that part of Afghaunistaun, as the Taujiks are in the west. These nations, and the others which contribute to the population of Afghaun towns, will be considered as distinct races, after I have described the Afghauns; at present I have only to speak of the place they occupy as citizens of those towns. In this point of view, we find them divided into bankers, merchants, artizans, and labourers.

The prohibition in the Koraun against Mussulmans taking interest, makes most of the business of banking fall into the hands of Hindoos, whose wary and penurious habits suit them admirably for the trade. They derive their profits from lending money, which they do at an enormous interest, by negotiating bills of exchange, and by transactions connected with the fluctuations of the exchange in the place where they reside. They also mix trade and agency with their regular banking business. Another source of profit arises from advancing money to government for bills on the revenue of provinces, and this hazardous spe-

culation is recommended by a premium, always large, and increasing with the risk of non-payment. Some of the bankers are very rich, but there are numberless little shops set up with very small capitals, which practise the same trade as the great ones, among the poor people of their particular neighbourhood.

When I was at Peshawer, the bankers thought it necessary to conceal their wealth; and one, who took up my bills for the purpose of remitting his property to India, would only make his payments in the night, when he dug up his money, and paid it to my treasurer with the utmost secrecy. But these precautions were not taken from any present danger, so much as with a view to futurity, as Peshawer was on the eve of a revolution, which had already commenced in the west. At that very time the bankers had great confidence in the government of Shauh Shujah, and looked with terror to the prospect of its subversion. No exactions were ever made on them, notwithstanding the King's urgent wants; and in all transactions with government, they seemed to have no fears from the King or the prime minister, but only from their inferior agents. When any ordinary courtier was employed to negotiate a loan with them, they said he was likely to impose on or oppress them for his own profit; but when the affair was committed to a man of a respectable character, who would communicate fairly between them and the government, they met with very equitable treatment. The opposite party levied contributions and extorted money by all means, but they were then struggling to overturn the government; and though their habits are very irregular, it is probable that the secure posses-

sion of the kingdom has now improved their character in this respect. The bankers must derive much security from the great Dooraunees putting money into their hands to be employed to the best advantage, a practice which identifies the interests of the bankers and the nobility. Needy nobles also afford their protection to bankers, and treat them with great attention, in the hope of being able to borrow money from them ; and, like all other classes of industrious people, they derive benefit from the obvious interest which the King has in protecting them against individuals of his own nation.

The merchants are generally Taujiks, Persians, or Afghauns. Though commerce is by no means looked down on in this country, though the merchants are generally reckoned among the upper classes of society, and though several Khauns of inferior rank, even among the Dooraunees, are merchants, yet there are none of those large fortunes and extensive concerns among them which are seen in Persia and India. The long civil wars have occasioned a great decline of commerce, by rendering the roads unsafe, and exposing whole caravans to be plundered by one or other of the contending parties, otherwise the situation of Caubul between India, Persia, Tartary, and Belochistaun, together with the possession of Cashmeer, would not fail to give it great advantages.

The merchants are all sober, frugal, unassuming people ; and from the journeys to foreign countries which they make in the course of their concerns, they are more polished and enlightened than most other descriptions of men. They live comfortably, but never ostentatiously. Moollah Jaffer Sestaunee, whose fa-

vour with Shauh Shujah put him on a level with the ministers of state, always dressed like an ordinary merchant; was never attended by more than one servant, and a man who carried his culleaun, and never would allow himself to be addressed with any of the titles which are given to people of consequence. It is a proof how much the Afghauns are exempt from the prejudices of India in respect to trade, that no man of any rank would scruple to sell a horse, a sword, or any similar article, which he happened not to require; although regular trade would, of course, be reckoned a very unbecoming employment for the great.

The remaining inhabitants are shopkeepers and artificers. They are divided into thirty-two trades,* each of which has its own Cudkhoda or chief, who manages all transactions between the trade and the

* The number is confined to thirty-two by including several trades in one class. As it will serve to give some idea of the state of civilization, I shall mention some of the trades which actually exist, taken from a list of seventy-five trades, which a townsman of Caubul (from whom I had the list) could remember. Jewellers, gold and silver smiths, booksellers, bookbinders, stationers, makers of kullumdauns, (a sort of ink-stand and pen-case, of which every man who can write has one), seal-engravers, sellers of armour, sellers of shields, (these shields are of buffaloes' or rhinoceroses' hides), gunsmiths, sword-cutlers, polishers of steel, sellers of bows and arrows, sellers of glass ornaments for women, three descriptions of shoe-makers, boot-makers, button-makers, silk-thread sellers, gold-wire and gold-thread sellers, saddlers, farriers, painters, fruiterers, cooks, soup-sellers, tobacconists, druggists, perfumers, sellers of sherbet and of fullodeh, confectioners, embroiderers, and people whose business it is to sew ornaments on clothes of all descriptions, from jewels to spangles. I omit all people who sell the necessaries of life, as butchers, bakers, mercers, &c. and all who may be supposed to exist where the above-mentioned trades are found.

government. There are no regular taxes on this class of townsmen, though they are of course affected by the duties collected on all articles imported into the towns. They are, however, liable to exactions more distressing than regular taxation. The principal of these is the obligation to furnish shops for the Oordoo Bazar, or camp market. Whenever the King marches from any city in his dominions, an order is issued to the Cudkhodas to furnish a shop of each trade, to accompany the court to the next great town, where they are discharged. The artificers suffer most by this regulation, as they are not paid by the work; but are considered as servants of the King, and only entitled to their pay. This pay is not issued regularly, and the people are generally given a sum of money when they are dismissed in lieu of all payments. I do not know whether the sum fixed by the court is an equitable compensation for the labour imposed; but the amount which reaches the artificer, after passing through the hands of the courtiers and of the head of the trade, is very inadequate to the expense and inconvenience he has been exposed to. The other shopkeepers may, perhaps, receive inadequate prices for their goods; but from the nature of their transactions, the payments made to them cannot be so arbitrary as those to the artificers. This inconvenience falls on a good number of the townspeople, as the regular Oordoo Bazar is only intended to supply the royal household. There are many other shops which accompany the camp, to supply the sirdars and the soldiers; and so great is the distinction between this class and those attached to the household, that the latter endeavour to avoid the duty by bribes to

the persons whose business it is to provide them; while the others go voluntarily, and consider the employment as very profitable. No ordinary towns are obliged to supply Oordoo Bazars; and this oppression falls only on the cities of Heraut, Candahar, Caubul, and Peshawer. It can scarcely happen to either oftener than once a year, or last longer than three weeks or a month; but the shopkeepers are always liable to suffer while the King is in their town, by being obliged to furnish articles to his purveyors at their own price. In troubled times, contributions are levied on towns to supply the armies of the competitors. They are generally levied in articles of consumption, but compositions in money are also received.

Perhaps the greatest oppression the townsmen suffer, arises from the strictness of the police. It has been mentioned, that a branch of this department is in the hands of the clergy, and that it watches over the minutest breach of the rules of religion and morality. The consequences are extremely harassing: from the pretexts afforded for extorting money, and this evil is increased by the appointments in the police being farmed. The government can gain nothing by these exactions, since the whole amount paid to the treasury, on account of fines and petty confiscations, in the populous city of Peshawer, is only 1500 rupees, (equal to 150*l.*) per annum. The profit to the farmers of the offices of police must, of course, be much greater than this; yet it probably bears no proportion to the vexation and anxiety which it occasions to the people. In other respects the police is good, and there are few crimes or disturbances.

The officers of police go the rounds frequently in the night; and every quarter has gates, which are closed at a certain hour, so that robberies are next to impossible. The people are not allowed to go about the streets for that part of the night during which the King's band ceases to play. It ceases between eleven and twelve at night, and does not recommence till day-break; and, as it is heard over every part of the town, it gives sufficient intimation of the time when communication is allowed or forbidden. If any man is obliged to go about in these fordidden hours, he is liable to be taken up, unless he carries a light to show that he has no secret design.

It may not be amiss to mention in this place the way in which the day is divided in Afghaunistaun. The day begins at *Sehr*, which is a little before the commencement of the morning twilight, and which is enjoined as the hour of the first prayers. The next marked period is *Aftaub Beraumud*, or sunrise, after which is *Chausht*, or luncheon time, about eleven o'clock. *Neemrooz* (or noon) is the short period between Chausht and *Awullee Pesheen* (or Zohr), an hour prescribed for prayers, and marked by the first inclination of the shadow towards the east. The next time is about four in the afternoon, when a man's shadow is as long as himself; this is called *Aukhiree Pesheen*, next is *Asr*, or *Deeger*, an hour of prayer about five. *Shaum* is another time for prayer soon after sunset. *Khooftun* is the last prayer, at the end of twilight; and *Tublee Sehum* (the third drum) is the last time the King's band plays (about half-past eleven). These are the terms employed to mark time, instead of the hours of the day, which are never men-

tioned in common discourse. The day is, however, divided into twenty-four hours, which are counted from six in the morning to six in the evening, and then begin again.

The year is divided into four seasons as in Europe, commencing from the vernal equinox, when spring is considered to begin. The Mahommedan lunar months are most commonly used, but as they do not suit the seasons, the signs of the zodiac are very often adopted, and in the east the Hindoo months are better known than the Mahommedan.

To return to the inhabitants of towns : the common people rise at *Sehr*, and repair to the mosque to pray ; after prayers, they go to their shops, which are always distinct from their houses. In the west, they take a light breakfast after prayers, which some do also in the east. At eleven they eat their luncheon of bread, vegetables, curds, and flesh when they can afford it. In summer they sleep for a couple of hours after their luncheon ; those who have apprentices to take care of their shops, take their luncheon and nap at home, which others do at their shops. We are apt to consider this habit as a great proof of the laziness of the people in hot climates ; but it is to be remembered that they do not go to rest till ten or eleven, and in summer (the only season when they sleep in the day), they rise at half-past three, which does not make their whole sleep, including that taken in the day, more than equal to what the most moderate enjoy in England.

The great meal of all ranks is called *Shaumee*, and is taken after the last prayers. They all bathe generally twice a-week, but always on Friday. At Pe-

shawer they often merely wash in the open air, but in the towns of the cold country, they always use the Hummaum, or hot bath. These baths have been often described. They contain three rooms heated to different temperatures, and in the hottest the bather is scrubbed by the men of the bath till every particle of dirt or scurf is cleared off his skin. The entrance money is less than a penny, and all the operations of the bath, including shaving, burning the hair off the body, and dyeing the beard, only cost one hundred dinars (fourpence halfpenny); an Abassy (less than one shilling) is reckoned liberal payment from a rich man. The baths are appropriated to the women for some hours every day, and during that time no man is allowed to approach them.

The food of the common people is leavened bread, rice, flesh, vegetables, sometimes cheese, and always croot or kooroot.* Provisions are cheap, and the people derive a great luxury from the prodigious abundance of fruit. At Caubul, grapes are dear when they sell for more than a farthing a pound; pomegranates are little more than a halfpenny a pound; apples sell at two hundred pounds for a rupee (two shillings and four pence); two sorts of apricots are equally cheap, and the dearer sorts are less than a halfpenny a pound; peaches are dearer, but quinces and plums are as cheap, and melons much cheaper; grapes often bear scarce any price, and the coarse

* Kooroot is made of dried curds pressed into hard lumps. It is scraped down and mixed with milk, and in this state the Afghauns of all ranks are very fond of it, but it is sour, and to me very unpalatable. It is called "Kooroot" in Tartary, and "Kaishk" in Persia.

sort, which is exported with so much care to India, is sometimes given to cattle. Nuts of all kinds are very cheap; and walnuts, with which the hills north of Caubul are covered, sell at two thousand for a rupee. The price of vegetables is also extremely low. The smallest piece of copper money, much less than a halfpenny, purchases ten pounds of spinage, twenty-five of cabbage, and of carrots, turnips, pumpkins, or cucumbers. Coriander seeds, turmeric, and ginger also sell extremely cheap. Ice, or rather snow, is to be had in Caubul, during the summer, for a mere trifle. It is dearer at Candahar, but still within the reach of the poorest people. A favourite food at that season is fulodeh, a jelly strained from boiled wheat, and eaten with the expressed juice of fruits and ice, to which cream also is sometimes added. In winter, living is, of course, more expensive, and this is particularly felt in the city of Caubul, where provisions become dearer; it is necessary to have stoves both in the houses and the shops, and warm clothing is absolutely required; such indeed is the severity of the climate, that many of the poorest people emigrate to the eastward, where they remain till spring.

The people have a great many amusements, the most considerable of which arise from their passion for what they call Sail* (enjoyment of prospects); every Friday all shops are shut, and every man comes from the bath, dressed in his best clothes, and joins one of the parties which are always made for this day, to some hill or garden near the town; a little subscription procures an ample supply of provisions, sweetmeats, and fulodeh; and for a small sum paid at the

* Corrupted from the Persian or Arabic word Seir.

garden, each man has the liberty to eat as much fruit as he pleases. They go out in the morning, and eat their luncheon at the garden, and spend the day in walking about, eating the fruit off the trees, smoking, playing at backgammon and other games, and listening to the singing and playing of musicians, hired by a trifling subscription. The people of Caubul even go on parties to the rich valleys of the Cohdaumun, as far as thirty miles from the city ; these expeditions take several days, but are repaid by the beauty of the place, the innumerable gardens, and the extreme cheapness of fruit and provisions. In Peshawer, the great resort is to the banks of the Budina rivulet, and there the climate enables them to keep up this practice all the year ; but at Caubul it is changed in winter into parties to hunt wolves, or to shoot at marks.

The people of the city of Caubul, though very religious, and by no means relaxed in their morals, are wonderfully fond of all sorts of amusement and recreation ; they have often singing and playing in their houses, and delight in fighting quails or cocks, and in all sorts of games and sports.

I have now described the life of the labouring people, and I shall add an account of the life of an idler.

When Mr. Durie was at Candahar, he spent a great deal of his time at the house of a Taujik baker, who had made some money, and retired from business. The following is his account of the life which this man led.

Mr. Durie used to go to the baker's house early in the morning, and generally found him sitting with a kind of Moollah, who lived in the house with him.

The morning devotions did not occasion any interruption, as the baker seldom prayed, and the Moollah never. The latter had forsaken the world, and did not observe forms (I conclude he was a Soofee). Their breakfast was bread and soup, which was sometimes made at home, and sometimes ordered from a soup shop. Mr. Durie seldom breakfasted with them, and seldom met strangers there at that hour. When breakfast was over, they retired into a court-yard, behind the house, where they were soon joined by a number of visitors. They sat on carpets, and smoked tobacco. The Moollah sometimes smoked the intoxicating drug called Chirs, of which some of the visitors occasionally partook ; but most of them preferred plain tobacco. They also used to eat fruit and drink Sherbet occasionally in the course of the day. The company used to converse soberly and pleasantly but, as the visitors were generally Afghauns, e conversation was often in Pushtoo, which Mr. Durie did not understand. They used also to play a game of the nature of back-gammon, and to wrestle, and perform the athletic exercises used in their country, as in India and Persia. It would take a great deal of time to describe those exercises, or the innumerable postures which wrestlers are taught to assume. Some of the principal exercises, I may, however, notice. In one of them, the performer places himself on his hands and toes, with his arms stiff, and his body horizontal, at a distance from the ground. He then throws his body forward, and at the same time bends his arms, so that his chest and belly almost sweep the ground. When his body is as far thrown forward as possible, he draws it back to the utmost, straightens his arms, and is prepared to repeat the

motion. A person unused to this exercise could not perform it ten times without intermission; but such is the strength it confers when often used, that one English officer was able to go through it six hundred times without stopping, and this operation he repeated twice a day. Another exercise is whirling a heavy club round the head, in a way that requires the exertion of the whole body. It is either done with one immense club held in both hands, or with one smaller club in each hand. A third exercise is to draw a very strong bow, which has a heavy iron chain, instead of a string. It is first drawn with the right hand, like a common bow, then thrown over to the right, and drawn with the left hand, and afterwards is pulled down violently with both hands till the head and shoulders appear between the bow and the chain. This last exercise only operates on the arms and chest, but the others strain every muscle in the frame. There are many other exercises, intended to strengthen the whole or particular parts of the body, which a judicious master applies according to the defects of his pupil's formation.

The degree to which these exercises bring out the muscles and increase the strength, is not to be believed. Though fatiguing for the first few days, they afterwards occasion a pleasurable feeling, and a sensation of lightness and alacrity which lasts the whole day, and I never saw a man who had performed them long, without a large chest, fine limbs, and swelling muscles. They are one of the best inventions which Europe could borrow from the East; and, in fact, they bear a strong resemblance to the gymnastic exercises of ancient Greece.

The day passed as described till after dark, by

which time the company had taken their leave; and the baker had a good dinner of pilaw and other Persian dishes. Mr. Durie did not often dine with him, nor was there ever company; but there always sat down a party of four, which was made up by the Moollah, a young nephew of the baker's, and an old man on crutches, who was related to him. After dinner, nobody came in but neighbours; and these were generally Mr. Durie, and two petty Dooraunee Khauns, who were not in the army, but had lands and houses, and lived on the rent of them. They both kept horses, and lived in a very respectable way. They were perfectly good-natured and well bred, and always behaved with great civility to Mr. Durie. These gentlemen, and the people of the house, used to converse on religion and war, repeat odes from the Persian poets, and question Mr. Durie about India and the Europeans. They were particularly delighted with some English songs which he sung, and afterwards explained in Persian. The whole party used to sing in turn till late at night,* "with great glee;" and "when they had music, they used to sing *together* excellent well:" the baker, in particular, seemed quite transported when he was singing. One of the Khauns also played very well on the rubaub. Such are the employments of idle people within doors. They also go out to sit in shops, and hear the news; to talk to their friends in the market-place; to hear tales and ballads in the streets; or to the gardens of Fakeers, which, instead of being places where great austerity is practised, are the resort of all idle people, and particularly of those who smoke intoxicating drugs. They also go out in parties "to

* The words between commas are Mr. Durie's.

gardens, where there are many trees and rivulets, for pastime;" a pleasure of which Mr. Durie speaks in very high terms. To this it may be added, that persons in easy circumstances often drink wine in the evening, and have people to dance, sing, and exhibit feats of strength or dexterity. The dancing is commonly performed by boys. Female dancers are not uncommon in Peshawer, but very much so in the west.

The common people in the Afghaun towns wear the dress and retain the customs of the country to which they happen to belong; and, in consequence, the streets exhibit a curious spectacle in the assemblage of people from the different tribes and nations of the empire, each distinguished by the peculiar dress and manners of his race. Notwithstanding this circumstance, and the diversity of habits, language, and religion, which must be found in such a society, they all seem to mix well, and to live in perfect harmony with each other. The only exception to this, is the enmity between the Sheeahs and Soonnees of Caubul, and even they associate and intermarry with each other.

From all that I have seen or heard, and particularly from the accounts of Mr. Durie, I should not suppose the condition of the people in towns to be unhappy. But their situation would be dreadful to an Englishman; and the ease they enjoy must be attributed to the practical philosophy which all men acquire in similar circumstances, and which enables them to bear the evils to which they are habituated, without reflections on the past, or fears for the future.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE GREAT.

THE only class of inhabitants that remains to be described is composed of the great; under which denomination I include all the Dooraunee chiefs and the heads of the tribes, with the principal persons who follow them to court, and all the Persians and Taujiks who hold offices about the King. The first classes of these nobles occasionally reside at their castles; but that is only when they are at variance with the King, or during short periods when the court is in the neighbourhood, and they can make expeditions to their own castles, to avoid the heat of summer, or to enjoy the amusement of hunting. Their permanent residence is always with the court.

Their houses are on the plan of those which I have seen at Peshawer;* but their residence at that city being only temporary, they are not so magnificent there as in other parts of the country.

They are all enclosed by high walls, and contain (besides stables, lodgings for servants, &c.) three or four different courts, generally laid out in gardens, with ponds and fountains. One side of each court is occupied by a building comprising various small apartments in two or three stories, and some large

* See Journal.

halls, which occupy the middle of the building for its whole height. The halls are supported by tall wooden pillars and Moorish arches, carved, ornamented, and painted like the rest of the hall. The upper rooms open on the halls by galleries which run along half-way up the wall, and are set off with pillars and arches. The halls, being only separated by pillars and sashes of open wood-work, can always be thrown into one by removing the sashes. The back of the innermost one is a solid wall, in which is the fire-place. The upper part of this wall is ornamented with false arches, which look like a continuation of the galleries, and which, as well as the real arches, are filled up on great occasions with paintings in oil, looking-glasses, and other ornaments. There are smaller rooms along the other sides of the court-yards; and among them are comfortable apartments for the retirement of the master of the house, one of which at least is fitted up with glass windows for cold weather. There are fire-places in many of these different apartments. The walls and pillars are ornamented with flowers in various patterns, painted in distemper or in oil, on a white ground composed of a sort of whitewash, mixed with shining particles, which is called Seem Gil, or silver earth. The doors are of carved wood, and, in winter, are covered with curtains of velvet, embroidered cloth, and brocade. In all the rooms, at a height which is easily within reach, are arched recesses in the walls, which are painted very richly, and, by a strange depravity of taste, are thought to be embellished by glass bottles of various coloured pickles and preserves. The poor also have these recesses, which they ornament with china cups,

and in which they store their fruits for winter consumption: the curtains in the houses are of quilted chintz, or of canvass painted with birds, beasts, flowers, &c. in oil. The pictures in the houses of the rich are mostly, if not entirely, done in Persia: the figures are old Persian kings and warriors, young men and women drinking together, or scenes from some of the Persian poems. The principal ornaments of the rooms of the great are carpets and felts, which serve them in place of all other furniture. Persian carpets are too well known in Europe to require any description, but there is a kind made near Heraut which excels all others I ever saw; they are made of wool, but so fine and glossy, and dyed with such brilliant colours, that they appear to be of silk: carpets of highly wrought shawl are also used; but this piece of magnificence must be very rare, from the enormous expense.*

There are felts for sitting on, spread close to the wall all round the room, except where the entrance is, which, in the halls, is always at one end. They are brownish grey, with patterns of flowers in dim colours; that at the top of the room is broader than the others, which are about three feet and a half or four feet broad. On the upper felt are smaller carpets of embroidered silk or velvet, with cushions of the same for distinguished visitors.

* Moollah Jaffer of Seestaun had a shawl carpet of great size, with separate pieces for sitting on, which was bespoke for Shauh Mahmood, and which was bought for a quarter of its price after that prince was dethroned. Moollah Jaffer asked 10,000*l*. for it, which, he said, was far below its value; he intended to try to sell it at the courts of Persia and Russia, and if he failed, to cut it up and sell it in pieces to the Turks.

The Haram (or seraglio) is always in the innermost court. It has a separate entrance, but communicates by a private passage with the apartments where company are received.

The palaces, even at Caubul or Candahar, are probably very inferior to those of Persia; and certainly none of them would bear a moment's comparison with a highly furnished house in England.

The dress of the great is on the Persian model; it consists of a shirt of Kuttaun (a kind of linen of a wide texture, the best of which is imported from Aleppo, and the common sort from Persia); a pair of wide silken trowsers; an under tunic of fine Masulipatam chintz, with some small pattern, which reaches below the middle of the calf, and completely covers the thighs and upper part of the leg, and which is fastened close to the body with strings; an upper tunic of the same kind, but of different materials; a shawl girdle, and an Afghaun cap with a shawl loosely twisted round it in the form of a turban: to this must be added, white cotton or shawl stockings, and Persian shoes, and a large mantle thrown over the shoulders. There are rows of buttons and loops down the breast of the tunic, and at the sleeves; and one kind of mantle has a row of immense sugar-loaf buttons, with corresponding loops: the upper tunic is generally made of some costly but plain material: a stuff called oormuk, made of camel's hair, and generally of some shade of brown, is common; as is cloth of strong, dark-coloured cotton. Satin, shawl, and Persian brocade are also worn; and for full dress, they have very magnificent tunics of cloth of gold. The shawl round the waist

is of a kind seldom seen either in India or in England; it is long and narrow (about a foot and a half broad), and is wrought all over. As the price of shawls depends on the quantity of work in them, it is, of course, very expensive; a good one can scarcely be purchased under 150*l*. or 200*l*. The shawl round the head is the kind worn by ladies in England, and by all rich people in India. The shawls worn for tunics are made for the purpose, and sold in pieces; they are covered with small flowers on a coloured ground. The mantle is of the same kind of shawl, with very large flowers, such as are seen on the borders of Indian shawls. It is also made of all the other materials already mentioned, which vary with the season: in summer a single robe of light silk is enough, and in winter the mantle is often lined and trimmed with expensive furs. When they travel, they generally wear broad-cloth, and then they are always in boots, which are of the same kind through all ranks, viz. high, with a peak and tassel in front of the knee, made of very strong brown leather, with narrow heels shod with iron. The rich, however, sometimes have them of green or black shagreen leather.

It was formerly a regulation, that no nobleman should appear at court unless in cloth of gold. That form is now dispensed with, but every man must be in boots, and wear a sword; and those on whom the King has conferred the privilege, must wear an ornament of jewels on the right side of the turban, surmounted by a high plume of the feathers of a kind of egret. This bird is found only in Cashmeer; and the feathers are carefully collected for the King, who

bestows them on his nobles. The only other ornaments they wear, either of gold or jewels, are about their swords, daggers, and pistols. The sword is of the Persian form, which is worn all over the west. The hilt resembles our own, except that it has no guard for the fingers: the blade is narrower and more curved than ours. Indian steel is the most prized for the material; but the best swords are made in Persia and in Syria. The dagger is often the long Afghaun knife, which has a blade about two feet long, and more than two inches broad at the bottom, and growing narrower till it comes to a point. It has an edge on one side, and the back is very thick to give it strength and weight. The handle is just large enough for the hand; and has no guard, except what is formed by the blade projecting over the hand. When sheathed, the whole sinks into the scabbard, and only about an inch of the handle is seen. The Persian short dagger, with a very thick handle, is also common; but the handsomest kind is, I believe, derived from the Turks. One of this description formed part of the dress of honour conferred on me by the King, and is probably now in the Persian office at Calcutta. It was about fourteen inches long; the sheath and handle were both round, tapering to a point, where there was some sort of ornament; the upper part was set with jewels in rings, and the top was almost covered by a bad ruby, set with diamonds. Nothing could be more elegant than the outside; but, when drawn, a knife was produced, which, though of fine steel, was exactly of the shape of a small carving knife. The great men have swords, daggers, belts, &c. richly embellished with jewels, for great

occasions; but those they usually wear are plain, and it is not always the best sword that is most adorned. A sword, sent by the King of Caubul to the Governor General, which had belonged to Tamerlane, and afterwards to a succession of the Suffavees (or Sophis) of Persia, and which was taken by the Afghauns at Ispahan, had no ornament, except some gold about the hilt, and an embossed sheathing of the same material, extending about six or seven inches up the scabbard. Great men sometimes wear a pistol in their girdle, but more commonly have them in their holsters. Those made in Daughestaun (to the east of Georgia) are most prized; but I have seen imitations of them made in Cashmeer, which could not be distinguished from the originals. All ranks go unarmed, except at court, or on a journey.

The ladies wear the Persian dress, and, of course, have an endless variety of clothes and ornaments. The most remarkable parts of their dress are their pantaloons of stiff velvet, or highly wrought shawl, or of silk; and their jackets, of velvet, brocade, &c. which much resemble those worn by our dragoons. They have three rows of buttons, joined by broad lace ornamented with coloured flowers wrought into it. The back part of the sleeve comes down beyond the fingers, and is worn doubled back, so as to show the lining of tissue or brocade.

The ceremonies of the great are on the same model as those of the common people. The place of honour is in the corner of the room, at the end opposite the entrance. The master sits there, facing the entrance, and with his side to the garden or court-yard. A row of servants is drawn up immediately below him (in

the court); and, from the usual height of the hall above the ground, their heads are not high enough to admit of their seeing the company inside. If the owner of the house is visited by a superior, he advances to meet him, but only rises in his place to receive an equal: to an inferior, he merely rises on his knees. It is a mark of great attention in the master to place a guest in his own seat; and the nearer to him, the more honourable the post. The great maintain households on the plan of the King's. They have porters, called Caupchees,* who stand at the outer gate, with long staves in their hands. A visitor is received here by one or two Ishikaghaussees,† who conduct him through the first court. At the next door are other porters, with ivory-headed staves; and he is there received by other officers, who lead him through different courts, always with the same forms, till the Arzbegee presents him to the great man, and points out the proper place for him to take his seat. After this, there are no more forms, and no restraint on conversation but what must be imposed in most countries by the particular temper of the great man, and the degree of dependence of the visitor. The manners of the great are mild and plain, and, at the same time, dignified and manly. The officers I have mentioned are dressed like gentlemen of the country, and their appearance improves as their station is nearer the reception room; but the other attendants are far from showy: and the great in Caubul seem to be averse to parade, and to pique themselves more on the order and silence of their attendants than on their

* From the Turkish word, for a gate.

† A Turkish word, meaning "Master of the Door."

number or the splendour of their appearance. In like manner, when they go out, their followers are by no means numerous ; but are marshalled with great regularity, and march in silence and good order. In India the coming of a great man may be known, while he is a mile off, by the shouting of his attendants, the blowing of trumpets, the beating of drums ; and though his retinue is very picturesque, from the number of men on foot and horseback who compose it, the rapidity and confusion of their movements, the lively colours of their dresses, the shining of their arms, and the glitter of the standards of cloth of gold which are mixed with them ; yet nothing can give a less idea of discipline and decorum. In Caubul, on the contrary, a nobleman mounts his horse, and is alighted, and almost in the room, before you have notice of his approach.

The servants in Afghaunistaun are remarkable for activity and fidelity. They do every sort of work with cheerfulness, attend their master mounted and well armed when he travels, and are often trusted with his most important secrets. Their masters send them with the most confidential messages without taking any precaution, but that of providing for their being believed by the person to whom they are sent. For this purpose the master gives his ring, or some other article which is generally about his own person, or else instructs the servant to allude to some indifferent matter that is only known to his master and the person to whom the message is to be delivered. For example, a servant begins his message with saying, " If you and my master were sitting by yourselves in such a garden, and he told you that he had counted

thirty-four different kinds of flowers within a few yards in the hills of Caubul, that is to be a sign to you that what I say is from him."

The servants are fed in the house, and clothed at their master's expense, besides which, they get their wages once a quarter. They are often soldiers in the Dusteh, or regiment, which their master commands.

The life of the great naturally differs from that which I have attributed to the common people. They do not get up till sunrise, when they pray, and read the Koraun and religious books for an hour or thereabouts. They then have a breakfast of bread, butter, honey, eggs, and cheese: after this they repair to court, where the officers of the household have assembled at a much earlier hour. They remain at the palace till *Chausht*, and during that period they sit in the apartments allotted to their respective orders, transact business, receive petitioners, and do a great part of their official duty: those who are most employed, have their luncheon brought to them at the palace, and remain there till the court breaks up for the day; but the generality go home to this meal, and in summer take their usual nap after it. When they awake they perform their devotions and read a little, then receive visitors, and despatch such business as could not be done at the palace till *Deegur*, when they again repair to court. At dark they return home, and amuse themselves to a late hour, when they dine, and afterwards many drink wine, when they have private parties. At their great entertainments, of course, nothing of this kind is thought of, but unless on such occasions, they have only intimate friends at

dinner, Chausht being the meal to which they usually ask strangers. It is not to be supposed that all the great drink wine; on the contrary, the bulk of the Dooraunee Sirdars abstain from it, and all try to reconcile the practice with decency; but as their debauches are always carried on in company, this seldom can be done. It may be supposed that all great men have not their time so fully occupied as those I have described; they do not, however, want ways of filling it up agreeably, for though their lives are more austere than those of the common people, they delight in hunting and hawking, and have many resources in reading or hearing books read to them; it is even a profession to read, and the Shauh Naumeh, the great heroic poem of Ferdausi, has a large class of readers, called Shauhnaumeh Khoons, whose business it is to read it, or recite the fine passages with proper emphasis and action. Those who are not disposed to literature, have Persian and Pushtoo singers, and play at chess, backgammon, or cards. The two first games are nearly the same as ours; but the third, which is more rare, is played, as in India, with round cards, and differs in many respects from what we play. They also have gardens near the town, where they retire with a few friends, and where they sometimes give large parties. On the whole, however, their style of living is very inferior to that of the nobles of Persia, and does not correspond with the vast fortunes which some of them are said to possess.

All that I know of their entertainments may be communicated by a description of one which was given to the British mission at Peshawer, by Meer Abool Hussun Khaun, the Mehmaundaur of the em-

bassy. We were first introduced into a large court, in the centre of which was a pond, surrounded by many rows of small lamps, the light of which was reflected from the water, where other lamps floated on boards; many torches were also stuck up round the court, and all together gave a light as strong as that of day, and showed the place filled with attendants and spectators.

We entered through a high gate, on each side of which were some buildings, and over all an open gallery. Opposite to us were the painted pillars and arches of a hall, and on each side were buildings, the lower part of which only contained one or two doors, but which I believe had windows in the upper story. We were received in the hall opposite the gateway, which opened on the court, and partook of the illumination. We entered, as is usual, by a door at the lower end of the room, and took our seats at the top. The floor was covered with a rich and beautiful carpet; along three sides of the room were felts covered with cloth of gold, for the guests to sit on: those at the upper end were particularly magnificent, being velvet of the brightest colours, richly embroidered with gold. The doors were hung with curtains of cloth of gold, or of highly embroidered silks, and the galleries round the upper parts of the room were closed with Persian pictures, round which appeared a profusion of gold cloth and embroidery. Among other things, I observed with some surprise a large piece of silver cloth, in which the sun rising over a lion (the royal ensign of Persia), was wrought in gold. There were mirrors in different parts of the room, and we were astonished to observe two of

dimensions superior to any of those which we had brought with so much difficulty over mountains and desarts, to give the King an idea of English manufactures. Those in the room, we understood, had all come overland from Europe, through Persia or Tartary. Along the middle of the room was a row of lights: thick candles, surrounded with wreaths of flowers in coloured wax, were placed alternately with artificial trees, in which the lights were disposed among leaves, flowers, grapes, and other fruits represented in wax in their natural colours. On the gold and velvet, with which the upper part of the room was spread, were placed, with more civility than good taste, a row of plain chairs for our accommodation; and soon after we were seated, trays of sweetmeats were handed round. Soon after a dance of women began, and fire-works were let off in the court; and our attempts at conversation, amidst the din of the instruments, the shouts of a dozen male and female singers, and the noise of the fire-works, were disagreeable and interrupted. Tea was served round, in China cups, without cream, very sweet, and rendered most disagreeable by an infusion of anise seed. When dinner was announced, the dancing ceased, and our entertainer (who was a Sheeah) found some pretence to withdraw.* We sat down on the ground to dinner, which was placed before us on trays with lids, wrapped up in white cloth, concealed by brocade

* The Sheeahs (in Caubul at least) are very strict in eating with none but Mussulmauns, in which they form a contrast to the Soonnees. Colonel Franklin makes the same remark of the Soonnees in Persia; and it is probable that the least numerous and most persecuted of the sects, is most scrupulous in each country.

covers with gold fringes. The dishes, according to the Persian fashion, were dyed of all colours, and ornamented with a profusion of gold and silver leaf. They were served in China dishes, and consisted of all kinds of roasted, boiled, and baked meat, pilaws and ragouts, with many things which it would be difficult to describe. We were attended by well-dressed servants, mostly Persians, who are reckoned the best servants, and whom the Afghauns employ as cooks, maîtres-d'hotel, &c. as we do Frenchmen. In the midst of so much magnificence, and really so much neatness and arrangement, it was curious to see the servants snuffing the candles into a tea-cup with a pair of scissors, and others jointing the meat with a large penknife, and then tearing it to pieces, and laying it on our plates with their hands. It is, however, but just to say, that this was not done till they had washed their hands, and tucked their sleeves up to their elbows. The dinner was cold, and consequently not much relished; and the uniform dancing and indifferent fire-works, which lasted without intermission till two in the morning, deserve but little praise.

The entertainment on the whole was rather splendid than agreeable, (particularly as some hours of the time were spent in a private apartment, discussing the ceremonial of our reception by the King); but one, which we soon after received at a garden, was far more to our taste; and I shall add a description of it, to show the nature of this sort of party among the great. It was given in the garden, which is called after Timour Shauh, who laid it out. It was a very extensive square, enclosed by brick walls, and

divided by two very broad avenues of alternate cypresses and planes, crossing each other at right angles in the middle of the square. The open space in the centre of each avenue was filled with a very long and broad bed of poppies, on each side of which was a walk between borders of flowers. In the four squares, into which the avenues divided the garden, were innumerable fig, peach, plum, apple, pear, pomegranate, quince, and mulberry trees, in full blossom: here and there was scattered a high pepul tree. In some places the ground below the trees was sowed with beans, which were then in flower. The appearance of the garden, setting aside the recollections of Europe which it excited, was really delightful. The scents, which sometimes came on the wind, were enchanting, and the whole was completed by the singing of the birds, whose notes we thought we recognized; and every one was anxious to attribute them to some of those which he had most admired in England. Tents had been pitched in the garden; and one in particular had a very pleasing effect, in the midst of the whole, at the place where the avenues cross each other. The roof of it was green and red, and the walls were of open work, so as to admit the air, without permitting those in the tent to be seen from without. The interstices were so shaped, and the colours of the solid parts so disposed, as to make the whole very light and elegant. After a long walk we sat down under a tree, listened to the birds, and talked with the son of our Mehmaunder about our country and Caubul, of which he gave an enchanting account: that city, and its 100,000 gardens, were indeed a common topic of

praise and admiration. When we went to the tent, we found our Mehmaunder, accompanied by the King's Imaum and some other Moollahs. The Imaum, who was a plain, open, talkative, pleasant man, expatiated on the beauties of Caubul, which, he said, we must see, and launched out in praises of the Afghauns and their country. On this, or some other occasion, he was very inquisitive about the reason of our cropping and docking our horses ; laughed heartily at the practice ; and said, if ever he had a vicious horse, he would send him to us to be made an example of. After some time, these gentlemen went away, and left us to take some relief from the fatigue we suffered in sitting cross-legged, which, though entreated to sit at our ease, we always continued to do, as we knew how rude any other posture would be thought. After some time, our Chausht, or luncheon, was brought in. Basins and ewers were handed round to wash our hands ; after which, they spread a large flowered chintz table-cloth, ornamented with Persian verses on the bounty of God, and other mottos, such as were thought fit for a table cloth. Trays covered with white calico were then put down, and the calico, when unfolded, was spread over our knees. Each tray contained fifteen or more dishes, saucers, and cups, large and small, in which were two large pilaws, several little dressed dishes, relishes, pickles, and preserves. A bowl of sherbet was in the middle of each tray. Besides these, there were dishes of the Doomba lamb, dressed plainly, but full of juice, and much improved by the flavour of the sauce and stuffing. There were also flat cakes of leavened bread to serve for plates, besides the bread for eating. When

we had done eating, which we did most heartily, warm water was handed round for washing, the dishes and table-cloths were removed, and our culleauns were brought in. As soon as this was done, three dancing girls were introduced to amuse us with their singing and dancing. They were incomparably superior to those of India in face, figure, and performance. Their dress, though not so rich as is usual in Hindoostaun, was in much better taste. They wore caps of gold and silver stuffs. Their hair was plaited in a very becoming manner, and little curls were allowed to hang down round their foreheads and cheeks, with a very pretty effect. They had perfectly white teeth, red lips, and clear complexions, set off by little artificial moles like patches. Their complexions, however, were perhaps indebted to art, as rouge is very common among the ladies of Caubul. Their dancing had a great deal of action. The girl scarcely ever stands while she sings (as those in India do); but rushes forward, clasps her hands, sometimes sinks on her knees, and throws herself into other attitudes expressive of the passions which are the subject of her song; and all this action, though violent, is perfectly graceful. Behind, stand a number of well-dressed fiddlers, drummers, and beaters of cymbals, with long beards, and an air of gravity little suited to their profession. All these disturb the concert by shouting out their applauses of the dancers, or joining in the song with all the powers of their voices. The Moollahs, it appeared, could not properly be present at this exhibition; and I was soon called to join the Imaum, who, with the Mehmaunder (also an officer of high rank), had been

commissioned to negotiate with me. We sat down on a carpet under a plum tree, and had a long conversation, which the Imaum, who had no great fondness for business, often interrupted by questions and speeches to Mr. Richard Strachey, the Secretary to the Mission; such as, "Strachey, let me look at your seals:" "What the deuce is this figure?" "Have you got such a thing as a spy-glass about you?" At last our business was ended, and after some jokes on the dress of our respective nations, we took another walk in the garden, and then went home.*

This garden is close to the Balla Hissaur, but is divided from it by a public road. The King often retires thither, and sometimes carries some of the ladies of his seraglio along with him. On these occasions a number of officers, called Koorkchees, are stationed on all the roads which lead to that already mentioned, to prevent any one approaching while the Haram is passing. It only remains to say a few words concerning the character of the great, which terminate my observations on that class.

In examining the conduct of the Afghaun Chiefs,

* All the men of the guard and retinue of the mission, who had attended me to the garden, were admitted to view it between our walks, and were entertained while we were at our luncheon. The mixture of European and Asiatic dresses, and the inconsistency between the scene and some of the figures that were moving up and down it, amused us all. Among others, we descried my groom, who was strutting about one of the large walks with his hands in his pockets, apparently recollecting the most knowing of his London airs, when he was accosted by a Persian, in a high skin cap, and a tunic that reached to his heels. This couple conversed for some time by signs; and soon got so well acquainted, that they shook hands, and walked off arm in arm into one of the smaller alleys.

as followers of the court, we certainly take their character in the most unfavourable point of view. In their behaviour to their tribes, respect for public opinion makes them sober, decent, tolerably just, and always kind and conciliating; but, at court, they cannot but imbibe the corruption of the atmosphere in which they live; and, even in speaking of the Afghaun courtiers, we may safely pronounce that they are the worst part of the nation. If the Persians be thrown into the scale, the crimes and corruptions of the court would weigh down those of all the rest of the population. As far as my opportunities of observation went, I must own I found the Dooraunee Sirdars sincere and direct, and had every reason to believe them high-minded, and as honourable at least as any other nobility in Asia; but the rest of the people about the government were very generally mean, false, and rapacious. Even the Sirdars, when in power, made money by the most disgraceful extortion; numbers of them had deserted from one party to another with shameless perfidy; and none, however attached to the cause in which he was engaged, was at all inclined to make pecuniary sacrifices to promote its interest. Much jealousy and discord also prevailed among the most powerful Sirdars, and many open or secret acts of enmity were put in practice by them against each other; but, on the whole, their character was greatly superior to that of the other classes about the King. Every day furnished some example of the bold intrigues, open falsehoods, and daring forgeries of the Persians; and no experience in India could prepare a foreigner for the impudence and beggarly importunity of most of the lower officers

of the state. Even this general fact, however, was not without exceptions; and if the best of the courtiers were not quite exempt from the vices imputed to their order, there were some men of decent character even among the Persians.

The character of the Afghaun chiefs will be in a great measure unfolded in the historical sketch annexed to this account, and in various parts of my journal; but an account of those who were at the court of Shauh Shujah when I was there, may serve to give a general idea of their disposition and manners. The chief was Akram Khaun, of whom enough has already been said.

The next man was Muddud Khaun, the chief of the Iskhaukzyes, whose grandfather distinguished himself greatly in the Persian wars, and is said to have wounded Naudir Shauh in battle; his father was one of the greatest and most warlike of the Dooraunee Sirdars, and Muddud Khaun himself was possessed of great wealth, and was extremely respected. His manners, dress, and behaviour, were all spoken of as particularly decent and dignified, though he lived in no kind of splendour. He was said to be a man of talents and of a good education; but it gives no great idea of his capacity, that his studies were chiefly in physic and astrology; the first of which was recommended by his weakly constitution, and the second by the unsettled times in which he lived; he was, however, very popular, and had a great reputation for his knowledge of the art of commanding, for his skill and courage in war, and for every thing but liberality. His character for faith was so good, that even in the troubled times he had witnessed, he

had never been required to take an oath; and although it could not be concealed that he had given up the city of Heraut, with which he was entrusted by Shauh Zemaun, to that prince's rival, yet from the account he himself gave of the transaction, it appeared that he was driven to it by the suspicions and designs of a son of Shauh Zemaun's, to whom the nominal government of Heraut belonged.

The best of the order was Goolistaun Khaun, the chief of the Atchikzyes, to whose merits the whole country bore testimony. He was brave and sincere, patient in investigation, indefatigable in executing justice, and never was accused of receiving a present. He was absent at his government of Caubul all the time I was at Peshawer.

Ghuffoor Khaun was a man of wealth and consequence, but destitute of firmness and capacity. He had deserted from Mahmood to Shujah, for which he suffered death on the field of battle at Neemla, about a month after I saw him.

Auzim Khaun held the office of Nussukhchee Baushee, answering to that of our Earl Marshal in old times. He was by no means deficient in abilities, but more remarkable for his steadiness and honour; Shauh Mahmood having ordered him to put Waffadaur Khaun and other Suddozyes to death, contrary to a custom which is almost sacred among the Dooraunees, he refused to obey; Mahmood at first was enraged at his contumacy, and ordered the guards to fall on him with the butt ends of their matchlocks; but notwithstanding the cruel treatment he received, and Mahmood's threats that he should be put to death if he did not obey, he persevered in his refusal, and

in time obtained Mahmood's confidence, by his firm adherence to his principles.

Meer Hotuk Khaun, nephew to the famous Sirdar Jehaun Khaun (the greatest of Ahmed Shauh's generals), was the chief of the intelligence department. He was a good scholar, and an excellent Persian poet, but as his learning lay in poetry, history, and other branches of elegant literature, instead of law, he derived no respect from his acquirements. He was a quiet, timid man, not at all disposed to tyranny, but accessible to corruption.

By far the most remarkable of the chiefs of that time was Ahmed Khaun Noorzye, the head of the great tribe of Noorzye, and one of the few remaining soldiers of Ahmed Shauh. He was a man of prodigious strength and stature: though considerably upwards of seventy, and rather corpulent; he bore the marks of his former vigour, and was still a very handsome man. He had a fair complexion, with a high hooked nose, a stern countenance, hairy cheeks, and a long beard; his manner was very plain, with an affectation of roughness and sincerity, which he prided himself on retaining. He, was, however, no pattern of ancient faith; he had twice deserted his party on the field of battle, and was in correspondence with the enemy at the time when I saw him. His clumsy fraud, however, defeated its own object, and he was distrusted by both parties, without ever having gained by deceiving either. He had held the highest commands in the state, and had served with reputation in Khorassaun; he had, however, been beaten by the Uzbeks in Bulkh, and by the Talpoorees in Sind. It is remarkable that his defeat on the last occasion, was

owing to his attempting to practise the Uzbek mode of war, which had been so successfully employed against himself. He was, however, a man of great personal courage and firmness, but avaricious even among Afghaun Sirdars. His consciousness of treachery during the time I was at Peshawer, made him loud in his zeal for Shauh Shujah's cause; and to draw off the public attention from his own proceedings, he affected great alarm from the English, and harangued against foreigners and their arts on all occasions. His stratagems were, however, unsuccessful; his correspondence was discovered, and he was again thrown into prison about the time I left Peshawer. The success of Mahmood's party procured him his liberty for a time, but his own ill conduct, or his bad character, exposed him again to suspicion, and he ended his days in a prison. Even when I saw him, he had just suffered a long imprisonment; but the King, in his distress, had released him, and endeavoured to regain his attachment. He had been restored to his rank, and had received great honours from the King; but as he was afraid of being called on to contribute to the support of the government, he affected extreme poverty. I found him in a house which had gone to ruin during his long confinement; it was at some distance from the town, and the hall where he received us, opened on a neglected garden; part of the roof had fallen in, and the walls, which seemed to have been well finished, though plain, bore evident marks of decay; there was no carpet, nor even felts to sit on.

We found the Khaun seated, with four or five other persons. He was dressed in the usual manner, and very plain; he rose, and came forward to meet me;

and, on my holding out my hands to receive him in the Persian fashion, he declared in a rough voice that he was for no Persian professions, and said something of Afghaun sincerity and true friendship: he then seized me by the arms with a rude gripe, and pressed me with great vehemence to his breast. We then sat down, and the Khaun, after inquiring about my health, and paying the usual compliments, began to declaim against the Persians and Persian refinements; praised his own Oolooss, which he said was 100,000 strong; and talked of the devotion of the Dooraunees to the King and royal family, and of the impossibility of supplanting it. The meaning of this harangue appeared to be, to make a show of his attachment to the King on so public an occasion; and also to prove his patriotism, by impressing me with an idea of the fruitlessness of any designs on the Dooraunee state. I made such replies as were likely to convince him and the by-standers of the vanity of his apprehensions, without appearing to apply what he said to myself. Notwithstanding his affected roughness, his behaviour and his ordinary conversation, during my visit, were perfectly polite and attentive. He sent me a present next day, as is usual; and, as he was unable to return my visit, I sent him a present, without waiting for that ceremony: he sent a polite message of thanks; and was highly pleased with a pair of spectacles, with which he said he should be able to read the Koraun better than with those of his own country; but he returned a pen-knife with many blades, begging me to give him a larger one instead. And I learned from a by-stander, that when he first saw it, he had said, "What am I to do with this thing like a

scorpion! I wish the Envoy would give me a knife, that a man could make some use of." When this was related to me, it introduced many stories from my visitors about Ahmed Khaun's manners. All said that he would eat three sheeps' heads for breakfast, and the greater part of a sheep for dinner. On another occasion, when Ahmed Khaun's manners were talked of among two or three people whom I knew well, I happened to mention the kind of salute he had given me, which afforded great entertainment to the company. But next day the story came to Ahmed Khaun's ears; and he thought it necessary to send a formal apology, explaining that the kind of embrace he had given me was really in the old Afghaun fashion, and was his constant practice with people for whom he had a regard.

I cannot give a better idea of the Dooraunee Sirdars, or contrast them more with the Persians, than by relating a part of my own transactions with them both. At a time when Shauh Mahmood was advancing from the west, Shauh Shujah's army, which had been collected at a great expense, was defeated and dispersed by the rebels in Cashmeer, and he was entirely destitute of the means of raising another for the defence of his throne. In these circumstances, it was of the utmost importance to him to obtain pecuniary assistance from us; but our policy prevented our taking part in the civil wars of the country, and our public declarations to that effect did not leave us at liberty to do so, consistently with good faith, even if we had been so inclined. The ministers, who were employed to persuade me to depart from this line of conduct, were two Persians and a Moollah; but other persons of the same description were employed to in-

fluence me in the shape of ordinary visitors and disinterested friends. I frequently found some of these in my hall when I rose, and although the necessity of retiring to Chausht procured me a respite of some hours during the day, the ministers were often with me till two hours after midnight. There was no argument or solicitation which they did not employ; they even endeavoured to persuade me that our Indian possessions would be in danger if we refused so reasonable a request: but even *they* never insinuated that I should be exposed to any personal risk. The utmost of their threats (and those certainly were embarrassing), consisted in assurances that the Queen would send her veil to me; and that, when Akram Khaun returned from Cashmeer, he would certainly come Nannawautee to my house. But these fears were dispelled on Akram Khaun's arrival. At my interviews with him, the same subject was renewed; but all importunity, and even all solicitation, was at an end. Akram proposed, in direct terms, schemes of mutual benefit; which, while they provided for the King of Caubul's wants, undoubtedly appeared to him to offer great and immediate advantage to the British, and which showed entire confidence in our sincerity and good faith. When it was obvious that these plans were not acceptable, they were instantly dropt.

The King's difficulties, however, continued to increase. Caubul fell into the hands of the enemy, and his approach was daily expected at Peshawer. The King tried all means of raising money. His jewels were offered for sale at less than half their value; but nobody dared to venture on a purchase, of which the opposite party would have denied the validity. In all his distresses, the King never re-

sorted to violence. He was at one time advised to seize a large sum of money, which some merchants were carrying from Caubul to Cashmeer on a commercial speculation. He was nearly persuaded to take their money, and to give them jewels in pawn for repayment. The Royal Cauzy had given his fetwa, declaring the legality of the action; but, on reflection, the King determined to maintain his reputation, and rejected the expedient. In this season of necessity recourse was again had to me; and as the Persians had exhausted all their arts, I was invited to a Council of the Dooraunee Sirdars. The Persians did not fail to take advantage of this circumstance. They lamented the rudeness and barbarism of the Afghauns; pointed out to me what a difference I should find in treating with military savages, and with polished people like themselves; but told me to be of good courage, for that a little compliance would set all right. They even insinuated that it would be dignified to make a voluntary offer through them, rather than be intimidated by the violence of the Dooraunees. After all this, I went to the palace to the council, accompanied by Mr. Strachey and two other gentlemen. We were led, by a private way, into a very comfortable room, close to the presence chamber. On our way, we passed through an antechamber, where some of the principal secretaries and ministers were transacting their business. When we had taken our seats, some of our acquaintances came in for a few minutes, and we were then left to ourselves, to admire the rich and beautiful landscape on which the windows of our room opened. The curtain which covered the

principal door was soon gently raised, and several persons in dark dresses entered in profound silence, and without any bustle. They did not at first attract much notice; but, on looking at them, I perceived Muddud Khaun; and as I rose to receive him, I recognised Akram Khaun, Ahmed Khaun Noorzye, and the four other great Dooraunee Sirdars. They were all in their court dresses, with the red boots on, which are required when they appear before the King, but all quite plain in their attire. They took their seats opposite to us, with Ahmed Khaun, the eldest of the number, at their head. They immediately entered on general conversation, interspersed with many civil and friendly speeches; but they showed an extraordinary reluctance to open the business of the meeting, and often pressed each other in Pushtoo to begin, before any one could be found to undertake it. At length they began at a great distance, talked of their confidence in us, and their wish to consult with us, and at last delicately hinted at their own wants: in reply to which, I spoke with respect and interest of their nation, and assured them of our sincere wishes for its prosperity, but pointed out in plain terms the objections which existed to our taking part in their domestic quarrels, and remarked the advantage which an ambitious and designing state might derive from an opposite line of conduct. Ahmed Khaun (whose arrangements with the enemy must now have been completed) could not let slip this opportunity of showing his zeal and his Afghaun bluntness, and he began a pressing and even a sarcastic speech; but he was immediately silenced by the rest, who changed the subject at once, lamented

the disorders of the kingdom, which prevented our having been received with all the honours that were due, and our enjoying the pleasures which their country afforded; and this conversation lasted till we broke up. After this, I was no longer importuned by any body, but I perceived no diminution in the attention or hospitality of the court.*

* It may be interesting to know how an European traveller would succeed in this country, and the following is my opinion on the subject. In most parts of the Afghaun country, a poor stranger would be received with kindness and hospitality: but a wealthy traveller, that ventured, without proper escorts, into any part out of the immediate superintendence of the King, might lay his account with being plundered. In countries under the King, he would be safe from open plunder, but even in the capital he might be exposed to the extortion and oppression of the officers of government. His safest way would be to travel as a merchant with a caravan; but the example of Mr. Foster, who neither wanted enterprise nor curiosity, and who was well acquainted with a language spoken over the whole country, will show how little pleasure could be derived from that mode of travelling. The character of an ambassador alone could give a rich stranger a confident hope of safety; and even his security would probably depend on the disposition of the individuals at the head of the government. Experience has shown that in the reign of Shauh Shujah, and the administration of Akram Khaun, a foreign minister would be treated not only with good faith, but with delicacy; but whether the privileges of a public guest would protect a similar agent from the bold and unprincipled chiefs of the opposite party, remains to be proved, and appears to me very doubtful.

Europeans who settle in the country seem to be safe enough. The Constantinapolitan whom I have mentioned, made and lost a considerable fortune by commerce in the Afghaun country; but as he was under the vizeer's protection all the time he was rich, he is scarcely a fair example. Padre Petroos appears not to be molested; and an English deserter, who gave himself up to me at Moultaun, gave a favourable account of his treatment. He used even to be invited to dinner with the Dooraunee chiefs at Dera Ghauzee Khaun, where he had been employed. The Indian Mahommedans, who sometimes

came to that part of the country, used to give him trouble by telling the Afghauns that they were making a companion of an infidel who would not scruple to eat a hog; but the Afghauns said they saw no harm in his behaviour, and did not seem to care for his religion. For similar good offices of the Indians, see Mr. Durie's Journal: they do not arise from ill will, but from the Hindoo prejudice of caste, with which the Mussulmauns in India are deeply infected.

I know of no other Europeans in the country; a single inhabitant of the Russian empire may now and then come down with a caravan (like a man of Astrachan whom I met at Moultaun), but none reside in the country. It seems to be believed in Europe that the Russians have a factory and some influence in Bulkh; but there is certainly no foundation for the notion; I could hear of no establishment of theirs nearer than Orenburg (to the north of the Caspian Sea), except their conquests in the north-west of Persia.

Before I quit this subject, I may mention the Europeans whom I have heard of as having visited Afghaunistaun in modern times. Besides Mr. Foster, a French gentleman, named M. Massay, went from India to Europe by that route. A German officer, who afterwards had a command in the service of the Indian Begum Sumroo, was for some time in the army of Timour Shauh. Another European died at Bulkh some years ago, on his way from India to Europe. He was described to be a man of a melancholy turn, but mild and well informed; he was called Yar Fauzil, (an Arabic name of his own invention, probably intended to mean the friend of learning). While I was in the Caubul dominions, a very intelligent Frenchman, who had long resided at Agra, under the name of Jean Thomas, and who had latterly been strongly suspected of being a spy, escaped from India, and passed through part of the Afghaun dominions. He managed his journey with great courage and address, and eluded all the attempts which were made to apprehend him. Two Frenchmen also were stated, in letters from Heraut, to have arrived at that city, not long after I left the country. Considering how long the French had a mission at Tehraun, there can be no doubt that they have good information respecting these countries; but the nature of their government precludes all hope that they will give the world their information, which must be so unfavourable to the hopes of those who count on penetrating to India by that route.

I have heard of no other Europeans in the Afghaun dominions beyond the Indus, but those I have mentioned.

CHAPTER X.

TRADE OF CAUBUL.

In an inland country, destitute of navigable rivers, and not suited to wheeled carriages, commerce must of course be carried on by beasts of burthen; of these, camels are found to be the best, as well from their strength, as their patience of thirst, and the ease with which they are fed on any kind of bush, and almost on any kind of vegetable. The tribes whose country enables them to maintain camels, or rather restrains them to that description of stock, therefore naturally turn their attention to commerce, and often combine it with the migrations which they undertake in quest of forage for their herds, and of an agreeable climate for themselves. When the lands of these tribes, as is generally the case, neither furnish any produce of their own, nor afford a market for that of other countries, the owners of camels are chiefly employed in carrying the commodities of one rich country to be sold in another. When they have a little capital, they do this on their own account, accompanying their merchandise, and selling it themselves; but those whose only wealth consists in a few camels, are unable to engage in this traffic, and content themselves with hiring out their camels to the merchants of the richer tribes, and of the cities, who either

accompany their merchandise themselves to the place of its destination, or send it under servants (whose duty answers to that of supercargoes), according to their own wealth and habits of life. Some of these merchants also keep camels of their own, which they feed in the wastes near the towns where they reside; and some professed carriers also keep camels in the same manner, which they hire out. Camels hired from a particular tribe, usually make their journey in company with the tribe to which they belong; and those which belong to merchants or individual carriers, when travelling in the direction of one of these migrations, generally attach themselves to some tribe for safety, and the other advantages of company.

The trade to places out of the haunts of the wandering tribes is carried on entirely on animals belonging to the merchants and carriers of the cities, which are there formed into caravans, and in this manner all foreign trade is carried on.

The manner in which those are conducted which travel with wandering tribes will be best illustrated by the example of a tribe which is accompanied by few camels but its own, and that of one which is accompanied by many belonging to other persons. Half the Meaunkhail move annually from Damaun to Shilgur and the neighbourhood: they are accompanied by their wives and families, and are commanded by some of their own hereditary chiefs, assisted and supported by Chelwashtees;* and all command and control is in the same hands in which it would be if they were in their own territory. Any

* A sort of dictator sometimes appointed in the republican tribes.

strangers that join them are obliged to submit to the customs of the Meaunkhail.

With the Bauboors, on the other hand, the bulk of the caravan is composed of people not belonging to the tribe; and even the Bauboors who belong to it are not accompanied by their families, but merely travel as merchants. A Mushir* of the Bauboors always goes with the caravan, and is invested with nearly the same authority which the Khaun has at home; but his power only extends to his own tribe, and it is at the discretion of the rest to obey him or not. In general the whole elect him Caufila Baushee,† which gives him authority over them all; he chooses eighty men to assist him, imposing a fine on any who refuse. He keeps the peace, settles disputes, appoints and posts guards and escorts, fixes on the places of encampment, settles the customs with the tribes through whose lands he is to pass, collects the money required to pay them, and makes it over to the tribe to which it is due. But when the Mushir of the Bauboors is not elected to this office, every man manages for himself, and all is disorder and confusion.

The roads from Damaun to Khorassaun, which are travelled by these tribes, are the most discouraging imaginable. On the way to Caubul, the road, for a great distance, lies through close defiles and narrow stony valleys, among bare mountains: sometimes it runs along the beds of torrents, and at others leads over high and craggy passes. That along the Gomul is within the bed of a river; and if the stream rises,

* The hereditary chief of a division of the tribe.

† A Turkish term, signifying head of a caravan.

the caravan is obliged to seek shelter in some nook between it and the hills, and there to remain till the water falls. These roads are also infested by Sheeraunees, and still more by Vizeerees, who come from the nearest part of their own country to plunder the caravans. The caravan to Candahar, after passing the mountains, journeys over waste plains divided by rocky ridges, and, in some places, by mountains. During the whole march, it is obliged to carry provisions, and often water, that on the road being salt, or there being none at all. Shrubs, which feed the camels and serve for fuel, are the only useful produce of those countries. Small villages are met with rarely on this long march, but at some seasons camps of wandering shepherds are more frequent.

While passing the country infested by the predatory tribes, they march in great order, with parties at proper stations for covering their line of march : even when halted, a party of horse are always mounted, to prevent the enemy from carrying off camels that are foraging. A large proportion of the caravan keeps watch at night. In the rest of their journey they observe little precaution in the march, and sleep secure at night. In narrow passes the chiefs fix the order of passing, and sometimes send parts of the caravan by other roads. Their marches are about eight or ten miles a-day ; and when they reach their destination, those who have accompanied the caravan disperse, and the people of the tribe send out their camels to pasture, and remain themselves at ease in their camps in the midst of a verdant and pleasing country, which enjoys a temperate climate. They do not continue to shift about like the shepherds, whose

mode of marching and general habits are widely different from those I have been describing. One man from every family is, however, dispatched to the cities to sell the goods that they have brought up, and to provide others for their return. Many merchants of other tribes attach themselves to one of these caravans. They pay a rupee and a quarter for every camel load, to defray the expenses of the guards, and the same sum is levied from the members of the tribe to which the caravan belongs.

The arrangement of the caravans which go to India and Persia resembles those I have mentioned; but the camels are hired from carriers about towns, and the whole is under a Caufila Baushee, elected by the people of the caravan. This officer, however, is more common with the Taujiks and citizens than with the Afghauns, who often march together without any chief or any regulation.

These caravans generally march in the night. They do not encamp in the country at the end of their journeys, like those of the tribes, but put up in caravanserais in the towns; these are large squares, surrounded by apartments, and having a mosque, and often a warm bath in the centre, and a common gateway. They are under the charge of persons who let out the apartments to the merchants at a very low rate. A common merchant generally hires two rooms, in which he deposits his merchandise and lodges himself, eating, cooking, and sleeping at the place. They sell their own goods, either by wholesale or retail, without the intervention of brokers.

The caravans to Toorkistaun are all on horses or ponies, probably on account of the very mountainous

roads which lie in one part over the snowy ridge of Hindoo Coosh: those which go to Chinese Toorkistaun set off from Cashmeer and Peshawer. Caubul is the great mart of independent Toorkistaun; Candahar and Heraut for Persia. The Indian trade is more divided; that of the Punjaub and the north of Hindoostaun comes to Peshawer. That which crosses the desart from Jypore and the countries still farther south, comes to Shikarpore, Bahawulpoor, and Moultaun; and that which is carried on by sea comes to Koratchee, and thence to Shikarpoor and Candahar.

The principal foreign trade of the kingdom of Caubul is with India, Persia, and Toorkistaun (independent and Chinese). Some trifling commerce is kept up with Cauferistaun. A sort of cloth made of shawl wool, called Ussul Toos, is imported from Tibet, and the ports of Sind keep up some intercourse with Arabia.

The trade with Hindoostaun is by far the most considerable, though it has declined of late years.

The exports to India are principally horses and ponies, furs, shawls, Moultaun chintz, madder, assafœtida, tobacco, almonds, pistachio nuts, walnuts, hazel-nuts and fruits. The fruits are generally dried (as dried plums and apricots, raisins and kishmishes), but a large quantity is also fresh: in that case it is pulled before it is quite ripe, and carefully packed with cotton in wooden boxes. The fruits exported in this manner, are apples, pears, and coarse grapes. Pomegranates require no packing, and no other fruit will stand the journey; even these lose most of their flavour. The principal export is that of shawls, which are worn by every man in India who can afford

to buy them, and which are made in no place but Cashmeer.

The imports from India are coarse cotton cloths, (worn by the common people of the whole kingdom as well as by those of Toorkistaun,) muslins, and other fine manufactures, some sorts of silken cloth and brocade, indigo in great quantities, ivory, chalk, bamboos, wax, tin, sandal-wood, and almost all the sugar which is used in the country. Some little broadcloth is also imported, but most comes by the way of Bokhaura ; musk, coral, drugs, and some other trifling articles are also imported. A very great branch of the Indian imports are the spices of all kinds, which are carried from Bombay, and other places on the Malabar coast, to Koratchee or other ports in Sind, and thence by land to Caubul and Candahar. Almost all the spices used in the country come by this channel, as do most of the cowries. Horses are also exported by this route.

The exports to independent Toorkistaun consist chiefly of articles previously imported from India, or made in the Indian provinces of Caubul. White cloth of all kinds, shawls, Indian turbans, Moultaun chintz, and indigo, are the chief of them.

The principal of the imports are horses, gold, and silver. The latter consist of tillas (the gold coin of Bokhaura), Dutch ducats, Venetian sequins, and yamboos (or ingots of silver from China). Cochineal, broad cloth, purpet, and tinsel, together with cast-iron pots, cutlery, and other hardware, are imported from Bokhaura, to which place they are brought from Russia, either by land from Orenburg across the desart, or by sea from Astrachan to Arul, or Ming Kish-

lauk in Orgunge. Needles, looking-glasses, Russian leather, tin, beads, spectacles, and some other trifling European articles, are also brought by the same route. Oormuk, a fine cloth made of camel's wool, a quantity of cotton, and some lamb skins, are imported from the Bokhaura country itself; as are a few of the two-humped camels from the Kuzzauk country.

To Persia are exported shawls, and shawl goods, indigo, carpets of Heraut, Moultaun chintz, Indian brocades, muslins, and other cotton cloths. The shawls exported to Persia are of a pattern entirely different from those seen in India or England. They were universally worn till lately, when the King of Persia forbade the use of them, with a view to encourage the manufactures of his own country.

The imports are raw silk of Gheelaun and Resht, silken stuffs made at Yezd and Kashaun; a sort of strong cotton manufacture of various colours, called Kudduk, (the best of which is made at Ispahaun,) and silken handkerchiefs worn by the women. These manufactures are used in large quantities by all ranks. Embroidered satin, velvet, and Persian brocade are, of course, confined to the great. Coin and bullion are also among the imports; but the most remarkable is Indian chintz, which is manufactured at Masulipatam, on the coast of Coromandel, and comes by sea to Busheer, in the Persian Gulph. It is thence carried by land to the Afghaun country, where it is very much used.

The exports to Chinese Toorkistaun are nearly the same as those to Bokhaura. The imports are woollens of a particular kind, Chinese silk and satin, tea, (in small boxes of thin lead,) china, porcelain, raw

silk, cochineal, crystal, gold dust, golden ingots, and yamboos of silver with the Chinese stamp. The trade with Cauferistaun need scarcely be mentioned. It consists of wine, vinegar, cheese, and clarified butter, which are bartered on the frontier for Indian and Caubul cloth, salt, cowries, pewter, and tin. Some slaves are procured from the Caufers in the same manner. Slaves are also imported from Arabia, Abyssinia, &c. to the ports in Sind.

It is obvious, that in a kingdom so diversified, a good deal of internal trade must prevail. The principal articles carried from the western provinces to those in the east, are woollens, furs, madder, cheese, croot, and some manufactures, such as Heraut carpets, and the finer articles of dress or equipment for the great. From the east are carried the Loongees, silk, and chintz of Moultaun, the mixed silk and cotton cloths of Bahawulpoor, together with Indigo, and perhaps some cotton. Iron is exported from the mountainous countries in Hindoo Coosh, and the range of Solimaun, salt from the range which is distinguished for producing that mineral, alum and sulphur from Calla-baugh, horses from Bulkh, and cocoa nuts and dates from Belochistaun.

The horse trade requires a few words from its importance. A great number of horses are annually sold in the north of India, under the name of Caubul horses, and in the west, under the name of Candahar horses; but almost the whole of these come from Toorkistaun. No horses are bred at Caubul, except by men of property for their own use, nor are the horses bred about Candahar exported. Some of the fine horses of the neighbourhood of Heraut are car-

ried to other countries, but few or none to India. A good many horses are exported from Belochistaun, as are some of the fine breed found on both sides of the Indus, to the north of the Salt Range; but by far the greatest breeding country in the Caubul dominions is Bulkh, and it is from that province, and the Toorkomaun country lower down the Oxus, that the bulk of those exported are brought. There are two sorts of horses most dealt in; one rather small, but very stout, capable of much work, and cheap: the other much larger, and more valued on that account, though not near so serviceable, except for war, where owing to the Asiatic mode of fighting, size is of importance. The former, though of three sorts, are generally comprehended in the name of Toorkee or Uzbekee, and are bred in Bulkh and the provinces near Bokhaura. The other is called Toorkomaunee, and is really bred by the Toorkomauns on both banks of the lower Oxus. The great marts are Bulkh and Bokhaura. Horses sell there at from 5*l.* to 20*l.* for a Toorkee, and from 20*l.* to 100*l.* for a Toorkomaunee. The merchants generally buy them cheap, and in bad order, and fatten them in the pasture of Caubul. The most famous place is the Nirkh Mydoun, west of Caubul, where a horse in the most emaciated state can be brought into condition in forty days at an expense of five or six shillings. They first soil them with trefoil, and then give them lucerne.

Many horses are sold in the country, and great numbers used to be sent on to India. The internal sale is increasing; many of the farmers buying horses now, that formerly never thought of doing so; but the exportation to India has greatly fallen off.

Wherever the British dominion extends, large armies of horse are changed for small ones of infantry, and there the gentlemen prefer Arabs. The native armies also have diminished, as the circle of their depredations has been circumscribed; and if the Company's breeding studs are successful, the trade between India and Toorkistaun will be annihilated.

CHAPTER XI.

HUSBANDRY OF CAUBUL.

There are five classes of cultivators in Afghaunistaun: 1st, proprietors, who cultivate their own land; 2d, tenants, who hire it for a rent in money, or for a fixed proportion of the produce; 3d, Buzgurs, who are the same as the Metayers in France; 4th, hired labourers; and 5th, villains, who cultivate their lord's land without wages.

The estates of the proprietors are, of course, various in their extent; but, on the whole, the land is more equally divided in Afghaunistaun than in most other countries. There are a great number of small proprietors who cultivate their lands themselves, assisted by their families, and sometimes by hired labourers and Buzgurs. The reason of the equal division of property will be easily perceived by adverting to the nature of the government of tribes. That distribution seems to have been general in former times, and to have been disturbed by various causes. Extravagance or misfortune compel many to sell their lands: quarrels, or a desire for change, induce others to part with them, that they may quit the neighbourhood in which they live, and the division of every man's estate among all his sons, which is enjoined by the Mahommedan law, soon renders each lot too

small to maintain its proprietor, who consequently either gives it up to one of his brothers, or sells it. Purchasers are found among those who have been enriched by the King's service, by war, and by successful agriculture or commerce. Much has likewise been brought under cultivation by individuals or societies, who have taken measures to procure water for irrigation, on which so much depends in Afghaunistaun, and the land thus reclaimed becomes the private property of the adventurers. Finally, some have received great grants directly from the crown.

The value of land in Caubul is stated by Mr. Strachey to be from nine to twelve years' purchase.

The number of tenants, in the common acceptation of the word, is not great in this country; and of those who do rent land, a great portion are middlemen, who let it out again to Buzgurs. The commonest term for a lease is one or two years; the longest period is five. The rent varies greatly; in the barren country of the Stooreeaunees, it is only one-tenth of the produce; while in the plain of Bajour, it is said to be from one-third to one-half, and in the country round Caubul two-thirds.

All the tenants above-mentioned pay a rent for the use of the land, and are of no charge to the landlord; but where the land is cultivated by Buzgurs, the landlord generally provides the whole of the seed, cattle, and implements of husbandry, the Buzgur supplying nothing but the labour. In some cases, however, the Buzgur has a share in the expense I have mentioned, and in others supplies everything but the seed. The share of the Buzgur is not fixed; I have heard of cases where he received no more than

one-tenth, and of others where he was entitled to one-half.

Labourers in husbandry are principally employed and paid by the Buzgurs ; they are paid by the season, which lasts for nine months, beginning from the vernal equinox. They are fed, and in many places clothed, during all this period, by their employers, and they receive besides a quantity of grain and a sum of money, which varies from two and a half* Maunds Khaunee and one rupee† to ten Maunds and two rupees ; when paid in money, the commonest rate seems to be thirty rupees, besides food and clothing. In towns, the common pay of a labourer is one hundred denaurs (about fourpence halfpenny) a-day, with food. In Candahar it amounts to three Shauhees and twelve denaurs, which is between sixpence halfpenny and sevenpence. To show the real amount of this pay, it is necessary to state, that at Caubul a Shauhee will buy five pounds of wheat flour, and in the country perhaps half as much again. At Peshawer, the price of wheat flour was (even to the British Mission) as low as seventy-six pounds for the rupee ; so that the condition of this class of men must be very superior to that of the same class in India, even if the difference of climate be allowed for.

The condition of the villains will be fully explained when we speak of the Eusofzyes and other tribes where villainage prevails.

There are two harvests in the year in most parts of Afghaunistaun. One of these is sown in the end of autumn, and reaped in summer. It consists of

* The Maund Khaunee is about eighty pounds.

† About two shillings and fourpence.

wheat, barley, Addus (Ervum lens), and Nukhod (cicer Arietinum) *, with some peas and beans.

The other is sown in the end of spring, and reaped in autumn. It consists of rice, Arzun,† (Panicum Italicum, or Millet,) Gall (Panicum Miliacum,) Jowauree (Holcus Sorghum), Bajreh (Holcus Spicatus), Indian corn and Maush ‡ (Phaseolus Mungo).

The former harvest, which is called the Behaureh§, or spring harvest, is by far the most important in all the west of Afghaunistaun; that is, in the countries west of the Solimaunee range. In the east, the other harvest, which is called the Pauizeh ‖, or Teermaunee harvest, may perhaps be the most considerable on the whole; but this, if true, is liable to very important exceptions. In Bajour, Punjcora, the country of the upper Momunds, that of the Otmaunkhail, Chuch and Leia (on the east of the Indus), and Muckelwaud (in Damaun), the most important harvest is that which is reaped in summer, and in all those countries wheat is the chief grain sown. In Peshawer, the Bungush and Jaujee countries, Damaun and Esaukhail, the harvests are nearly equal; but in the rest of the eastern countries, that which is reaped in autumn is most important. In the country of the Kharotees there is but one harvest in the year, which is sown at

* These are called in India, Musoor and Chunna.

† Called in India, Chena and Cungunee.

‡ Called in India, Moong. The grain called Oord in India is also included under this name.

§ From the Persian word Behaur, "spring." In India it is called the Rubbee harvest.

‖ Pauiz means the fall of the leaf, and Teermau, autumn; this crop is called Khereef in India.

the end of one autumn, and reaped at the beginning of another; and this may almost be said of Kuttawauz, and of some high countries in that neighbourhood; but the Hazaureh country, and in general all the coldest parts of Afghaunistaun, and the neighbouring kingdoms, sow their only harvest in spring, and reap it in the end of autumn.

There is another sort of cultivation, to which great importance is attached in Afghaunistaun, and which is always counted for a distinct harvest, under the name of paulaiz. It comprehends musk melons, water melons, the scented melon called dustumbo, and various sorts of cucumbers, pumpkins, and gourds. It is most abundant about towns. Its produce is every where grown in open fields like grain.

The sorts of corn which have been enumerated are used in very different proportions, and are applied to various purposes. Wheat is the food of the people in the greatest part of the country. Barley is commonly given to horses; nukhod, which is used for that purpose in India, being only cultivated in small quantities for culinary purposes, as is the case with most of the other kinds of pulse. Arzun and gall are much used for bread. Indian corn is used for the same purpose at Peshawer and the neighbourhood; but in the west it is only planted in gardens, and the heads are roasted, and eaten now and then as a luxury. Bajreh is found in great quantities in Damaun, and it is the principal grain of the mountainous tract south of the countries of the Bungushes and Khuttuk. Neither it nor Jawauree is much cultivated in the west of Afghaunistaun, though the latter is the chief grain of Bokhaura. Rice is found

in most parts of the country; but in very unequal quantities and qualities: it is most abundant in Swaut, and best about Peshawer. It is almost the only food of the people of Cashmeer. Wild oats are found at Peshawer, and probably in other places; but they are of no use, and the grain is nowhere cultivated.

The garden stuffs of the country are carrots, turnips, beet-root, lettuce, onions, garlic, fennel, egg plant, spinage, and greens of all kinds, cabbages, and cauliflowers: there are also many of the Indian vegetables. Turnips are cultivated in great abundance in some parts of the country, and are used to feed the cattle. It is not improbable that the same observation may be true of carrots: in the Punjaub, at least, horses are often fed with this vegetable, which is very wholesome for them. Ginger and turmeric are grown in the eastern countries, particularly in Bunnoo. The same may be said of sugar cane, but the cultivation of it is confined to rich plains. Most of the sugar in Afghaunistaun is brought from India.

Cotton is, with a few exceptions, confined to the hot climates, and most of the cloth of that material used in the west, is imported ready woven from India.

The Palmi Christi, or castor-oil plant, is common over the whole country, under the name of Budanjeer. I imagine it furnishes most of the oil of the country, though sesamum, mustard, and perhaps some other oil plants, are very abundant. Madder abounds over all the west. It is only found in cold climates, and most of India is supplied from Afghaunistaun. It is sown in summer on land which

has been carefully prepared and manured. Its leaves are cut annually for the cattle; but the root (which furnishes the dye) is not taken up till the third year.

The assa fœtida plant is found wild in the hills in many parts of the west. It requires no attention, but that which is necessary for extracting the gum. It is a low bush, with long leaves, which are generally cut off near the bottom of the stem: a milk exudes from the part cut, and gradually hardens like opium. It is spoiled by exposure to the sun. The Afghauns, therefore, take care to shelter it, by placing two flat stones over it, in such a manner that they support each other. Vast quantities of this drug are exported to India, where it is a favourite ingredient in the cookery both of Hindoos and Mahommedans. Tobacco is produced in most parts of the country.

Among the most important productions of the husbandry of the west are lucerne, and a sort of trefoil called Shuftul. Lucerne is called Reeshka in Persian, and Spusta in Pushtoo. It is generally sown in autumn, and allowed to lie throughout the winter under the snow; but, in some places, it is sown in spring. It takes three months to attain perfection; after which, it may be cut once a fortnight for three months or more, provided it be watered after each cutting. The plant lasts in general five years, but I have heard of its remaining for ten and even fifteen years. It requires a great deal of manure. Shuftul is oftener sown in spring than in autumn. It is ready to be cut in less than two months, and the operation may be repeated once or twice. It never lasts longer than three years, and seldom longer than one. Both these grasses are given green to the

cattle, and also stored for hay; more is consumed green than is made into hay. Besides the natural grasses and the two artificial ones just mentioned, there are other kinds of fodder in Afghaunistaun. Arzun and gall, as well as jowauree, are often sown for the sake of the straw, which is very nourishing, and which, when dried, will last all the winter. It is also common to cut down the green wheat and barley, before the ear is formed, for horses and other cattle, and this practice is thought to be not only safe but beneficial. It is often repeated several times with barley; but, if applied more than once to wheat, it is thought to injure the crop. It is also usual to turn cattle into the autumn-sown grain, to eat down the plants which have sprung up before winter.

I have now enumerated all the products of husbandry in Afghaunistaun of which I have information; but it is certain that I must have made omissions, and it is by no means improbable that I may have overlooked some very common objects of cultivation. I shall now endeavour to explain the system of farming by which the crops are raised; but the great importance of water to success in tillage, renders it necessary that I should first explain how that is obtained.

The most general mode of irrigation is from streams, the water of which is sometimes merely turned upon the fields, but oftener is carried to them by little canals. It is diverted into those channels by dams, which, in small rivulets, cross the bed, and are swept away in the season when the water rises. In larger rivers, a partial embankment is made on one side, which extends for a certain distance into the

current, and which, though it does not entirely interrupt the stream, yet forces a part of it into the canal. From the canal smaller water-courses are drawn off to the fields, which are bounded by little banks raised on purpose to retain the water.

The next contrivance for obtaining water is the sort of conduit which is called a cauraiz or caureez. It is known by the same name in Persia, but is there most frequently called a Kaunaut. It is thus made: the spot where the water is to issue, must always be at the foot of a slope extending to a hill, and the ground must be examined to ascertain whether there are springs, and in what direction they lie. When the spot is fixed, a very shallow well is sunk, and another of greater depth is made at some distance up the slope. A succession of wells is made in this manner, and connected by a subterraneous passage from well to well. The wells increase in depth as the ground ascends; but are so managed, that the passage which connects them has a declivity towards the plain. Many springs are discovered during this process, but the workman stops them up, that they may not interrupt his operations until he has finished the last well, when he opens the springs; and the water rushes through the channel, rises in the wells to the height of its source, and is poured out from the lowest into a water course, which conducts it over the fields. When the caureez is once completed, the wells are of no further use, except to allow a man to descend occasionally to clear out the channel. The distance between the wells varies from ten yards to one hundred. It is usually about fifty. The dimensions of the channel are gene-

rally no more than are necessary to allow the maker to work, but some are much larger. I have heard of a caureez near Subzewaur in Persian Khorassaun, through which a horseman might ride with his lance over his shoulder. The number of wells, and consequently the length of the caureez, depend on the number of springs met with, as the chain is generally continued, either till water enough has been obtained, or till the wells become so deep as to render it inconvenient to proceed. I have heard of various lengths, from two miles to thirty-six, but I should suppose the usual length was under the lowest of those measures.

It may be supposed that the expense of so laborious a structure must be great, but the rich are fond of laying out their money on those means of bringing waste land into cultivation, and it is by no means uncommon for the poor to associate to make a caureez, and to divide the land which it irrigates among them.

Caureezes are very common in all the west of the country, and their numbers are on the increase. I know but of one on the east of the range of Solimaun, which is at Tuttore in Damaun. They are in use over all Persia, as they have been in Toorkistaun, but they are now neglected in the latter country; even their name is unknown in India.

These are the only important modes of artificial irrigation. Wells and ponds are scarcely used, except to drink from, and there are not many instances of those reservoirs so common in the south of India, where a great body of water is collected by an embankment thrown across a valley. A famous one at

Ghuznee will hereafter be mentioned, and there are some of great magnitude in the Paropamisan mountains, but they are not general throughout the country.

At Peshawer, and for a considerable space on the eastern side of the Indus during the whole of its course, the Persian wheel is used for raising water; in most places from wells, but at Peshawer from rivers, on the banks of which the machinery is erected.

A portion of the land is not watered by artificial means; many spots among the hills in various parts of the kingdom, and even some of the richest parts of the plains, depend entirely on the rain which falls on their surface: other parts are so situated, from their being in a basin, or on the banks of a river, that they are always moist enough for cultivation. These lands are called Lulm, or Khooshkaubeh, and, with the exception of some tracts in the east, are comparatively unproductive; they are probably inferior to the irrigated lands in extent, and are certainly so in importance.

I am by no means qualified to describe the whole process of cultivation among the Afghauns. I shall, however, give some particulars respecting the culture of wheat, which is the great grain of the country. The land is always watered before it is ploughed, in every situation where water can be obtained. It is ploughed deeper than is usual in India, and with a heavier plough, but still one pair of oxen are found quite sufficient for the labour. The drill plough, which is used in India, is not known, and all the sowing is broad-cast. The place of a harrow is supplied by a plank, which is dragged over the field; a man

stands on it to guide the cattle, and increase the effect of the harrow by his weight. After this operation, some farmers give another water, but most leave it till the grain has risen to a considerable height, when they turn in cattle to eat it down; after which they water it again, and some give another water in winter; but in most parts of the country it is either covered by the snow throughout that season, or sufficiently moistened by the winter rain. The rains in spring are material to the wheat, but do not supersede the necessity of irrigation, one water at least must be given in the course of the season; but some water three times a month till the corn begins to ripen. It may be remarked in passing, that the spring-sown harvest requires much more water than that of which I am now speaking. The crop is reaped with the sickle, which indeed is the only instrument used for cutting down grass and all kinds of grain. The use of the flail is unknown for separating the grain from the straw; it is either trodden out by oxen, or forced out by a frame of wood filled with branches, on which a man sits, and is dragged over the straw by cattle. This seems to be the way in Persia also. It is winnowed by being thrown up to the wind with a large shovel. When cleared the grain is generally kept in large round hampers (like gabions), which are supported by wooden feet, and plastered with mud. It is also kept in unburnt earthen vessels, and in coarse hair-cloth bags. The Dooraunees often heap it up in barns, and in towns it is stored in large granaries.

It is ground into flour by wind-mills, water-mills, or hand-mills. The wind-mill is not generally used,

except in the west, where a steady wind can be relied on for four months in the year at least. The ruins of old wind-mills are to be seen as far east as Caubul and Ghuznee, but they certainly are not common in those countries at present: one ruined wind-mill is in existence even on the borders of Damaun, where the use of such a machine is now never thought of. Nothing can be imagined more different from our wind-mill than the sort in question: I have examined a model of one, but have not a sufficiently distinct recollection of it to enable me to describe it fully. The sails are enclosed within the building, in which there is an opening to admit the wind. They are square or oblong in shape, are placed upright, and move on a vertical axis: when in motion, each in succession is brought to the opening so as to receive the wind, which presses against each, as the water does against the float-board of a water-mill. The mill-stone is immediately below the sails, which move it without the intervention of machinery.

The water-mills are also exceedingly different from any that I have seen, though I understand a similar kind is used in the Shetland isles. The wheel is horizontal, and the feathers are disposed obliquely, so as to resemble the wheel of a smoke-jack. It is within the mill, and immediately below the mill-stone, which turns on the same spindle with the wheel. The water is introduced into the mill by a trough, so as to fall on the wheel. The wheel itself is not, if I recollect right, more than four feet in diameter. This sort of mill is used all over Afghaunistaun, Persia, and Toorkistaun. It is also used in the north of India under the Sireenuggur hills, but, in general.

no water-mills are known in India, where all grain is ground with the hand.

The hand-mill is used by the part of the population that live in tents, and also in the rudest parts of the country: it is simply two flat round stones, the uppermost of which rests on a pivot fixed in the lowest, and is turned by a wooden peg, which is fastened in it for a handle. Except where hand-mills are used, a miller has a distinct trade, and is paid by a share of the corn which he grinds.

I can say little about the succession of crops adopted by the husbandmen of Afghaunistaun. It seems to be only in the very poorest parts of the country that land is allowed to lie fallow for a year. It is more frequent to cultivate the autumn harvest one year, and the spring one the next; but in some places, where manure is in plenty, both are raised in one year. The manure used is composed of dung and straw collected in dunghills, of ashes, the mud of old walls, and various other substances. The dung of camels is carefully avoided, from a notion that it impregnates the land with saltpetre. Lime and marl seem both to be unknown.

Horses are employed to draw the plough in Toorkistaun and in the Eimauk country, but in no other part of Afghaunistaun, nor in Persia, nor in India. That task is generally performed by oxen, but in Shoraubuk and in Seestaun, it is done by camels, (which animal is also used in the kingdom of Cokaun or Ferghauna; and in the Indian Desart,) and asses are employed in some parts of Afghaunistaun. Grain, manure, &c. are generally carried about the farm by asses or bullocks, and sometimes by camels: carts, as has been observed, do not exist in the country.

CHAPTER XII.

TAUJIKS, HINDKEES, AND OTHER INHABITANTS OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

It has been observed, that there is scarcely any part of Afghaunistaun in which the whole population is Afghaun, and that the mixture is composed of Taujiks in the west, and of Hindkees in the east. I now proceed to give an account of those classes, and of the other tribes and nations that are to be met with in Afghaunistaun.*

The situation in which we find the Taujiks is calculated to excite a degree of curiosity, which my information is ill calculated to remove. The Taujiks are not united into one body, like most other nations, or confined to one country, but are scattered unconnected through a great part of Asia. They are mixed with the Uzbeks through the greater part of their dominions, in the same manner as with the Afghauns. The fixed inhabitants of Persia are called Taujiks,

* Bauber enumerates the tribes which inhabited Caubul in his day. In the plain were Toorks, Eimauks, and Arabs. In the towns, and in some villages, Taujiks, Pushauees, and Puraunchehs. In the hills were Hazaurehs, Togderrees, Afghauns, and Caufers. The languages spoken among these tribes, were Arabic, Persian, Toorkee, Moghoollee, Hindee, Afghaunee, Pushauee, Puraunchee, Gubree, Burrukee, and Deggaunee.

in contradistinction to their Tartar invaders, and also to the moving tribes, who seem to have been originally Persian. They are found even in Chinese Toorkistaun; and they possess independent governments in the mountainous countries of Kurrategeen, Durwauz, Wakheeha, and Budukhshaun. Except in those strong countries, and in a few sequestered places which will be mentioned hereafter, they are never found formed into separate societies, but mixed with the ruling nation of the country they inhabit, and generally wearing the dress and practising most of the customs of that nation. In Persia, the plains of Afghaunistaun, and the Uzbek country, they appear to have been settled before the arrival of the nations which are now predominant in those countries.

The name of Taujik is rather loosely used. It is sometimes applied to all persons mixed with the Toorks or Afghauns who are not sprung from those stocks, or rather whose race is unknown; but it is with more propriety confined to those inhabitants of countries where Toorkee and Pushtoo are spoken, whose vernacular language is Persian. The names of Taujik and Parseewaun are indeed used indiscriminately both in Afghaunistaun and Toorkistaun.*

Various accounts of the word Taujik have been given; but the best seems to be that which derives it from Tausik or Taujik, the name applied to the Arabs in all Pehlevee writings. This agrees with the

* The Afghauns also call the Taujiks Deggauns or Dehkauns, and the Uzbeks call them Serds or Serts; but these names are considered as reproachful. Our travellers call those in Toorkistaun, Bokhars.

interpretation given in many Persian dictionaries, which state Taujik to mean a descendant of Arabs, born in Persia, or any other foreign country.* This account is consistent with the conjectures one would be led to, regarding the Taujiks, from a consideration of their present state, and of the history of the countries where they chiefly dwell. In the course of the first century after the flight of Mahommed from Mecca, the whole of Persia and the Uzbek country were invaded and reduced by the Arabs, who compelled the inhabitants to adopt their religion, and along with it a portion of their manners and language. Afghaunistaun was attacked at the same time; but the success of the invaders is known to have been less complete. They succeeded in conquering the plains; but the mountains held out, and repelled the approaches of Mahommedanism for near three centuries. The three countries under discussion formed parts of the Persian empire, and the languages of the inhabitants were probably all derived from the ancient Persian stock. When those inhabitants were subdued and converted by the Arabs, they formed the modern Persian, by a mixture of their former language with that of their conquerors;

* See the Persian dictionary, called the Burhaun Kataa, in verbo Taujik; and that called Farhang i Ibrahim Shâhi, quoted by Doctor Leyden in his account of the Roushenia Sect (Asiatic Researches). I am aware that other books give contradictory explanations of this word; but none seems entitled to equal credit with the one I have adopted, supported as it is by the Pehlevee word above mentioned, which means an Arab, and by the Persian word Tauzee, which has the same meaning. My authority for the Pehlevee word is Moollah Ferooz, a Guebre priest, well known in the west of India for his intelligence and information.

and it is probable that in time the two nations were blended into one, who were the ancestors of the present Taujiks. The facts which are recorded of Afghaunistaun, suit well with this supposition; for in the next accounts which we have of that country after the Arab invasion, we find the Taujiks in possession of the plains, and the Afghauns (whom we have every reason to consider as the Aborigines) in the mountains. The Afghauns have since descended and conquered the plains, and have reduced the Taujiks into a state of entire dependency, except in one or two strong countries, where these last were enabled to maintain a certain degree of independence. The same mixture of Persians and Arabs formed the Taujiks of Toorkistaun, who retained possession of that country till the invasion of the Tartars, when those of the plains were conquered and reduced to their present state of vassalage, while the Taujiks in the hills maintained their independence, and formed the separate states of Budukshaun, Derwauz, &c.

The Taujiks are every where remarkable for their use of fixed habitations, and their disposition to agriculture and other settled employments. They still retain some share of the land in the west of Afghaunistaun, of which they appear once to have been sole proprietors; but the most of them have lost their property, and live as tenants or servants in husbandry under Afghaun masters.

Their property is still liable to be encroached on by the powerful men of the tribe in the lands of which they live, though their danger in this respect is diminished by the protection of the government, and they are never exposed to the more intolerable evils of personal insult or oppression.

The Taujiks, who inhabit the lands of Afghaun tribes, either live as Humsayehs to those tribes, or in separate villages of their own. Their situation in the former case has been fully explained.

In the other case, the affairs of the village are managed by a Kudkhooda, elected by the people with some regard to a hereditary line, and subject to the King's approval.

The Kudkhooda has no power but what he derives from the King, and that which he possesses is chiefly connected with the collection of the revenue and the calling out of the militia. He has weight enough to determine trifling disputes; but all of importance are referred to the governor of the province or to the nearest Cauzy. The Taujiks are all peaceable and obedient to the government. Besides the employment of agriculture, they occupy those manufactures and trades which are renounced by the Afghauns. They are a mild, sober, industrious people. They have assimilated, in most respects, to the Afghauns; but they have more of the good qualities of that nation than of its defects. They are of an unmilitary turn, though their character as soldiers has risen of late, and is still rising. They are all zealous Soonnees.

As their situation incapacitates them both from flight and resistance, they are the first on whom oppression falls; and consequently they are ill satisfied with the present state of the kingdom, and complain much of the distractions in the government; but, when the country is settled, they are well protected; and, on the whole, they are partial to the Dooraunee monarchy. They are on very good terms with the Afghauns, who, though they regard them as

inferiors, do not treat them with arrogance or contempt, but intermarry with them, and associate with them on equal terms.

They pay more revenue than the Afghauns, and they contribute in a respectable proportion both to the army and the militia.

The Taujiks are most numerous about towns. They compose the principal part of the population round Caubul, Candahar, Ghuznee, Heraut, and Bulkh; while, in wild parts of the country, as in that of the Hazaurehs, and those of the southern Ghiljies and Caukers, there is scarcely a Taujik to be found.

I have hitherto been speaking of those intermixed with the Afghauns. Those who live in distinct societies are all in retired and inaccessible parts of the country; and they differ from the rest in many other particulars. The first of those which I am to mention, is the class who are called Cohistaunees, and who inhabit the Cohistaun of Caubul. This country is surmounted on the north and east by the snowy ridges of Hindoo Coosh, and its southern projection; on the west, it comprehends part of the Paropamisan range, and is bounded by the country of the Hazaurehs; on the south it sinks into the Cohdaumun, already described. The Cohistaun is composed of three long valleys, Nijrow, Punjsheer, and Ghorebund, into which open innumerable narrow and rocky glens, whence many little streams issue, and uniting in the principal valleys, form the rivers that bear their names. These streams are crossed by wooden bridges, and their banks are naturally the best cultivated part of the country. They bear but a small proportion to the mountains, which are high, steep, and covered

with firs. The cultivated parts yield wheat and some other grains; and, what is surprising in so elevated and cold a region, they produce tobacco, and even cotton. But the great subsistence of the people is derived from their numerous and extensive plantations of mulberry trees. The fruit of this tree is dried in the sun, and then ground into flour, of which bread is made. If we judge from the appearance of the Cohistaunees, the food is wholesome, and, by a calculation of Mr. Irvine's, it can support a far greater number of people in a given space than could be maintained by tillage. Though the population be a good deal scattered, it is considerable, and its numbers are generally stated to amount to 40,000 families. One part of the Cohistaun is to be excepted from this description. It is a little patch of desart, called Reg Rowaun, or moving sand, which is the scene of some romantic tales alluded to by Aboo̊l Fuzl.

The Cohistaun does not contain many cattle. The wild animals must be numerous. The lion is said to be among them, and the wolf and leopard certainly are common. Many falcons are found in the Cohistaun, which is said also to abound in nightingales.

The strength of this country gives to its inhabitants a character very different from that of the Taujiks, whom I have already described. They are almost independent of the King, and kept in perfect subjection by their own chiefs. In their personal character they are bold, violent, and unruly; and so much given to war, that they reckon it a disgrace for a man to die in his bed. They are excellent infantry, particularly among hills; but their courage is generally wasted in internal dissensions. They have seldom disputes be-

tween tribes or villages, but many quarrels and assassinations among individuals. Disputes between villages, when they do happen, are more serious in their consequences than elsewhere, since it is almost as easy to fell a plantation of mulberry trees as to reap a field of corn, and the damage is far more difficult to repair.

The arms of the Cohistaunees are generally a carbine, with a firelock, a pistol, and a short sharp dagger. Some have short pikes, and a few bows and shields.

Their dress is a close jacket, and trowsers of coarse black woollen cloth, a pair of short half-boots, and a small silken cap.

They are all Soonnees, and bear more than ordinary hatred to the Persians and to all other Sheeahs.

They are under different Khauns, of whom the principal is Khaujeh Khanjee; and these chiefs, though they cannot control their domestic feuds, are able to direct their foreign operations, particularly when assisted by any religious prejudice. The chiefs keep up some little military establishment of their own, but every man in the country is a soldier. They pay some revenue, and furnish some troops to the King; but, in general, it requires great conciliation and management to obtain any thing from them. They have, however, been lately subdued. An old enmity to Shauh Mahmood led them to offer a most determined opposition to his restoration; they first supported his brother Prince Abbass, and afterwards continued the contest under a false prophet, who started up to head them. The war was long, obstinate, and often unfavourable to the King's troops; but the energy of the

vizeer Futteh Khaun prevailed in the end, and they are now submissive.*

The next class of Taujiks are the Burrukees, who inhabit Logur and part of Boot-Khauk. Though mixed with the Ghiljies, they differ from the other Taujiks, in as much as they form a tribe under chiefs of their own, and have a high reputation as soldiers. They have separate lands and castles of their own, furnish a good many troops to government, closely resemble the Afghauns in their manners, and are more respected than any other Taujiks. Their numbers are now about eight thousand families.

All traditions agree that they were introduced into their present seats by Sooltaun Mahmood about the beginning of the eleventh century, and that their lands were once extensive; but their origin is uncertain; they pretend to be sprung from the Arabs, but other say they are descended from the Kurds or Coords.

The Poormoolees or Fermoolees are a division of Taujiks, about equal in numbers to the Burrukees. The bulk of them inhabit Oorghoon in the midst of the Kharottee country, and carry on a bitter and unceasing war with that tribe: the rest live to the west of Caubul. They are chiefly employed in trade and husbandry, but furnish some soldiers to the King, to whom they also pay revenue.†

* I have heard of a people called Pushye, or Pushauee, among the Cohistaunees, and I regret that I did not investigate their history, as I have since found them mentioned by Bauber, as speaking a peculiar language.

† I am greatly perplexed with their origin, though the source to which they refer it, is not one that might be expected to be obscure.

They

The Sirdehees are a small tribe who live at Sirdeh south-east of Ghuznee. The inhabitants of Seestaun may all be counted Taujiks, and that class is common in the north of the Beloche country, but those divisions need not be mentioned here. They are, however, included in the estimate formerly made of the numbers of the Taujiks in the King of Caubul's dominions, which were conjectured to be 1,500,000.

The Hindkees, though much more numerous than the Taujiks, require less mention, as they are all of Indian descent, and retain the well known appearance and manners of their original country, together with a mixture of those which have been attributed to the eastern Afghauns.* They are worse treated than the

They are said to be descended from the Khullujees, who are well known to have given a dynasty of kings to India, but regarding whom every thing else is uncertain. Ferishta asserts them to be a tribe of Afghauns; and I have heard from other sources that they are the inhabitants of a city called Khulluch, or Khulluj, which some place on the Oxus, and others to the north-west of Candahar, while others deny the existence of this city altogether, and say that the Khullujees are a religious sect, not peculiar to any nation.

[The Khiljees or Khulluchees are a Tartar tribe, part of which in the tenth century was still near the source of the Jaxartes, but of which a portion had even then been long settled between Seestaun and India, i. e. in the Afghaun country. In the tenth century they still spoke Toorkee, but seem very early to have been closely connected with the Afghauns, with whom their name is almost invariably associated.

For their original stock and residence in Tartary, see De Guignes, vol. iii. page 9, Note; D'Herbelot, Article Khaladj; and Ebn Naukal, page 269 of Sir W. Ouseley's edition; for their abode in the Afghaun country, see Ebn Naukal, page 207. This last author wrote between A.D. 902 and A.D. 968.—1838.]

* Plate (V.) shows the appearance of a Hindkee of Peshawer in his winter dress, which, however, happens to approach more nearly to that of the west than is quite characteristic for a Hindkee.

Taujiks, and by no means bear so respectable a character. The provinces on the eastern bank of the Indus are generally peopled by a class of Hindkees called Juts, who also compose the Mussulmaun peasantry of the Punjaub, form the principal population of Sind, and are found mixed with Beloches throughout all the south-west of Belochistaun and in Mukelwaud. In Belochistaun they are called Jugdalls as well as Juts, and the tribe of them which inhabits Lus is called by the names of Jokhna and Noomree. The great extent through which the Juts are scattered, excites the same curiosity with the story of the Taujiks, whose situation is very similar to that of the Juts.

Another class of Hindkees, called Awauns, live on the banks of the Indus, about Calla-baugh, and the adjoining parts of the Punjaub.

The Puraunchehs, another class of Hindkees, seem to have been considered as a separate people in Bauber's time: they are now only remarkable for being great carriers, and conductors of caravans.

The Hindkees are numerous round Peshawer and in Bajour, and some classes of them are found in the country of the Eusofzyes, and other tribes in the north-east of the Afghaun country. Their language is a kind of Hindostaunee, resembling the dialect of the Punjaub.

The Hindoos ought, perhaps, to be enumerated with this class. They are to be found over the whole kingdom of Caubul.* In towns they are in consider-

* They are, indeed, to be found as far west as Astrachan, and they are numerous in Arabia; while on the east they extend as far as Pekin, where they are said to have a temple. Their religion has spread even beyond these limits. The worship of Boodh, under the

able numbers as brokers, merchants, bankers, goldsmiths, sellers of grain, &c. There is scarce a village in the country without a family or two who exercise the above trades, and act as accountants, money-changers, &c. They spread into the north of Persia, but in small numbers, owing to the bad treatment they reçeive. They are encouraged in Bokhaura and other towns in Tartary.

They are all, or almost all, of the military class of Kshetree, but it must not be supposed that they are, therefore, soldiers; on the contrary, the idea of a Hindoo soldier would be thought ludicrous in Caubul. They retain the Hindoo features, and some of them have nearly the Hindostaunee dress; but most allow their beards to grow, and wear a dress nearly resembling that of the country. They have got rid of many of their Hindoo prejudices, so that they do not scruple to eat bread baked at a common oven; still less do they attend to the rule which enjoins bathing after being polluted by the touch of a Mussulmaun, an injunction never intended for cold climates. In most respects, indeed, they mix well with the Mussulmauns, though their timidity, their craft, and their parsimony, expose them to ridicule. They are often employed about the court in offices connected with money or accounts; the duty of steward and treasurer about every great man, is exercised either by a Hindoo or a Persian. There have even been Hindoo governors of provinces, and at this moment the great governor of Peshawer has been put

name of Fo, is known to be very general throughout China; and in the gods of the Calmucks, as represented by Dr. Clarke, we at once recognise the idols of the Hindoos.

into the hands of a person of that religion. The people, however, view the appointment with more surprise than approbation, and the government must be strong to be able to support such an agent.

I have mentioned the degree of toleration which the Hindoos met with, and have only to add, that many of them are in very good circumstances, and that they possess the best houses in every town, if we except the palaces of the nobility.

The Hindoos represent themselves to be emigrants from India, who settled in Afghaunistaun at no very remote period, and their story appears to be well founded.*

The tribe, or rather the nation of the Deggauns, which seems to have once been spread over most of the north-east of Afghaunistaun, is now confined to the valley of Coonner, and some parts of the neighbouring country of Lughmaun.

It is in Coonner alone that they still form a separate

* There are, however, some traces of an ancient race of idolaters in Afghaunistaun, such are the colossal idols of Baumeeaun, and the numerous little statues which are occasionally dug up in the country of the Eimauks. Some places have also Hindoo legends attached to them, but none are of undoubted antiquity. The Gorekutty, where the caravanserai at Peshawer stands, was a place of Hindoo worship in Bauber's time. There is a cave of vast extent near Aukserai, north of Caubul, which the Hindoos say was the scene of the Tapasya, or ascetic devotion of Gurug, a Bramin who belonged to the household of Krishna, and which Captain Wilford supposes to be the cave of Prometheus, or rather the cave which the Greeks with Alexander describe as such.—*Asiatic Researches.*

The Mahommedan historians speak of Rajas of Caubul in ancient times, but this proves nothing, for the same writers called the Hindoos Guebres; and Mahommedans are not accurate in their use of the word Raja, as is shown by Tippo's calling the King *Raja* of England.

people; they are there under a chief, who is sometimes called the Syud, and sometimes the King of Coonner. The country is small and not strong, nor are the inhabitants warlike; yet the Syud, by his own prudence, and probably by the respect paid to his origin, maintains a considerable degree of consequence. He pays some revenue, and furnishes one hundred and fifty horse to the King.

The Deggauns speak the language which is mentioned under the name of Lughmaunee in the Commentaries of Bauber, the Ayenee Akberee, and other places. I have a vocabulary of the language, which seems to be composed of Shanscrit and modern Persian with some words of Pushtoo, and a very large mixture of some unknown root.*

The greater part of the words, however, are Shanscrit, from which we may conclude, that the Deggauns are of Indian origin, though they are distinct from the Hindkees; care must also be taken not to confound them with the Taujiks, whom the Afghauns sometimes call Deggaun, by corruption from Dehkaun, a husbandman.

The Shulmaunees formerly inhabited Shulmaun, on the banks of the Koorrum. They afterwards moved to Teera, and in the end of the fifteenth century they were in Hushtnugger, from which they were expelled by the Eusofzyes. The old Afghaun writers reckon them Deggauns, but they appear to have used this word loosely. There are still a few

* I beg leave to observe, that I know nothing of Shanscrit, but made my comparison with the help of two Mahratta Pundits. It is possible that the words which seemed to me to belong to some unknown tongue, may be familiar to a better oriental scholar.

Shulmaunees in the Eusofzye country, who have some remains of a peculiar language.

The Swautees, who are also sometimes called Deggauns, appear to be of Indian origin. They formerly possessed a kingdom extending from the western branch of the Hydaspes to near Jellallabad. They were gradually confined to narrower limits by the Afghaun tribes; and Swaut and Boonair, their last seats, were reduced by the Eusofzyes in the end of the fifteenth century. They are still very numerous in those countries.

The Teeryes, who live in the Shainwaree country, are a small tribe, only remarkable from their speaking a language distinct from those of their neighbours.

I have not been able to procure a specimen of it, or any information that can lead to a conjecture regarding its origin.

The Kuzzilbaushes are members of that colony of Toorks which now predominates in Persia. I call them by this name (which is usually given them at Caubul), in preference to that of Persian, which might lead to mistakes.

The Kuzzilbaushes generally inhabit towns, except about Heraut, where they are also to be found in the villages. There are said to be ten or twelve thousand of them in the town of Caubul, who settled there in the times of Naudir and Ahmed, and who are still in many respects a people entirely distinct from those around them. They speak Persian, and among themselves Toorkee. They are all violent Sheeahs, and their zeal is kept up by the necessity of a certain degree of concealment, and by their religious animosities with the Soonnees, among whom they live.

The Kuzzilbaushes in Afghaunistaun partake of the character of their countrymen in Persia; they are lively, ingenious, and even elegant and refined; but false, designing, and cruel; rapacious, but profuse; voluptuous and fond of show; at once insolent and servile, destitute of all moderation in prosperity, and of all pride in adversity; brave at one time, and cowardly at another, but always fond of glory; full of prejudice, but affecting to be liberal and enlightened; admirable for a mere acquaintance (if one can bear with their vanity), but dangerous for a close connection.*

The Kuzzilbaushes at Heraut follow all trades and pursuits; the rest are mostly soldiers; some are merchants, and these are the best of the class; and many are tradesmen and servants; the Umlah, or bodies of armed men who attend the great, are generally formed of them.

Most of the secretaries, accountants, and other inferior ministers, are Kuzzilbaushes, and almost every man of rank has a Meerza,† a Nazir,‡ and perhaps a Dewaun,‖ of this description of people. Most of the King's Peeshkhedmuts, and other servants immediately about his person, are also Kuzzilbaushes. Some of these are persons of high rank and office, and some of the military chiefs of the Kuzzilbaushes

* I speak from what I have seen of the Kuzzilbaushes of Caubul, and of a good many Persians whom I have known in India. The character, however, is chiefly applicable to the inhabitants of the towns; the country people are not so bad, and the Eliaut, or shepherd tribes, are something like the Afghauns.

† A secretary. ‡ A master of the household. ‖ A steward.

are also men of consequence, though always subordinate to the Dooraunee officers. Some of the Kuzzilbaushes, particularly those in the Gholaums, or King's guards, have estates, and even castles, granted by the crown, or purchased; but, except about Heraut, they generally live in towns, and let out their lands to Afghauns or Taujik tenants.

Besides the seven Teerehs, or tribes, into which all the Kuzzilbaushes are divided, those of Caubul have other peculiar divisions, as the Chendawuls, or Jewaunsheers, (the first of which names means the vanguard, and the second is a title), Moraud Khaunees, so called from the Dooraunee lord who first commanded them, &c. &c.

Besides the Taujiks, who are the original inhabitants of the country, the tribes descended from the Indian stock, and Kuzzilbaushes sprung from the Tartar conquerors of Persia, there are other nations found in small portions of the country inhabited by the Afghauns. It would excite great surprise to find a colony of French or Spaniards settled in a town or county in Great Britain, and remaining distinct from the people of the country, after the lapse of several centuries; but this is by no means an uncommon thing in Asia. The wandering habits of a great part of the population familiarizes the whole to the idea of emigration. It is also frequently the policy of the Asiatic princes to move their subjects from one place to another, sometimes with the view of obtaining an industrious colony, or an attached soldiery in a favoured part of the country, and more frequently to break the strength of a rebellious clan or nation.

These are the causes of the introduction of colonies from one country into another, and they are kept distinct from the rest of the inhabitants, by the division of the whole into tribes. The emigrants cannot procure admission into the tribes of the country, and single men are under great disadvantages from want of natural allies ; they therefore remain united for the advantages of mutual friendship and protection.

The most numerous of this class are the Arabs, who have probably emigrated from Persian Khorassaun. Many Arab tribes are still to be found in great numbers and power in that country, where they have probably been settled since the first period of the Mahommedan conquest, or at least since the time when the Arab dynasty of Samaunee ruled in Bokhaura.

The number in Afghaunistan may be about two thousand families, some of whom form part of the garrison of the Balla Hissaur at Caubul, and the rest reside at Jellallabad, between Caubul and Peshawer. These last are under a chief of their own, who is of such consideration, that the daughter of one of his ancestors was the wife of Ahmed Shauh, and the mother of Timour. They have lost their original language, but they still live in one society, and are all settled and engaged in tillage.

There are a considerable number of Moguls and Chaghatyes, and a few hundred families each of the following nations :—

Lezgees, from Mount Caucasus, between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea, brought from their country by Naudir Shauh, and now settled about Furrah.

Mookrees and Reekas, two tribes of Coords from

Coordistaun (the ancient Carduchia), between the Persian and Turkish empires.*

Armenians, a people to be found in almost every part of the east, where there is a prospect of gain.

Abyssinians (who have been bought as slaves, and who now form part of the King's guards), and Calmucks, here called Kullimauks, who are also the King's guards, and who seem to bear a strong resemblance to the people of the same tribe in Russia. Mr. Kerr Porter's picture of a Calmuck, in his Travels, is a good caricature of one of those in Caubul. They were brought from Bulkh by Timour Shauh, and it is but lately that the natives of Afghaunistaun have become familiarized to their broad faces, their long narrow eyes, and the extreme blackness of their skin. It is a matter of some surprise that the Calmuks, who are in general inhabitants of the north of Asia, should have found their way to Caubul, but they are found in considerable numbers in the kingdom of Bokhaura, and their erratic habits account for their further advance.

In this list I take no account of the Beloches, Eimauks, and Hazaurehs, who are in great numbers throughout the west, or of the Seestaunees, Kermaunees, Mervees, and people of other towns and provinces of Persia, who are settled in considerable numbers in different parts of the country. The few

* Sir John Malcolm, while in Coordistaun, obtained an account of the Mookrees, which mentions the emigration of a part of them to Caubul, but I do not know the æra or the motive of this movement. Some of the old men among the Reekas are said still to speak the Coordish language.

European Turks, Jews, men of Budukhshaun, Cashgar, &c., deserve no farther notice, nor do the more numerous Uzbek travellers who come to trade or to study at Peshawer.

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